

336.57

THE RELIGIOUS QUEST OF INDIA

EDITED BY

J. N. FARQUHAR, M.A., D.LITT.

LITERARY SECRETARY, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF YOUNG MEN'S
CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS, INDIA AND CEYLON

AND

H. D. GRISWOLD, M.A., PH.D.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN
MISSIONS IN INDIA

UNIFORM WITH THIS VOLUME

ALREADY PUBLISHED

- INDIAN THEISM By NICOL MACNICOL, M.A.,
D.Litt. Pp. xvi + 292. Price
6s. net
- THE HEART OF JAINISM By MRS. SINCLAIR STEVENSON,
M.A., Sc.D. (Dublin). Pp.
xxiv + 330. Price 7s. 6d.
- THE TREASURE OF THE
MAGI. By JAMES HOPKIN MOULTON,
D.Litt., D.D., D.C.L. Pp.
xx + 273. Price 8s. 6d.
- REDEMPTION HINDU
AND CHRISTIAN. By SYDNEY CAVE, D.D.
(London). Pp. xii + 203. Price
10s. 6d.

IN PREPARATION

- THE RELIGION OF THE By H. D. GREGGOLD, M.A.,
RIGVEDA. Prof.
- HINDU ETHICS By JOHN MCKENZIE, M.A.,
Wilson College, Bombay
- BUDDHISM By K. J. SAUNDERS, M.A.,
Literary Secretary, National
Council of Y.M.C.A., India
and Ceylon.
- THE RITES OF THE By MRS. SINCLAIR STEVENSON,
TWICE-BORN M.A., Sc.D. (Dublin), Raj
kot, Kathiawar.

EDITORIAL PREFACE

THE writers of this series of volumes on the variant forms of religious life in India are governed in their work by two impelling motives.

I. They endeavour to work in the sincere and sympathetic spirit of science. They desire to understand the perplexingly involved developments of thought and life in India and dispassionately to estimate their value. They recognize the futility of any such attempt to understand and evaluate, unless it is grounded in a thorough historical study of the phenomenon investigated. In recognizing this fact they do no more than share what is common ground among all modern students of religion of any repute. But they also believe that it is necessary to set the practical side of each system in living relation to the beliefs and the literature, and that, in this regard, the close and direct contact which they have each had with Indian religious life ought to prove a source of valuable light. For, until a clear understanding has been gained of the practical influence exerted by the habits of worship, by the practice of the ascetic, devotional, or occult discipline, by the social organization and by the family system, the real impact of the faith upon the life of the individual and the community cannot be estimated; and, without the advantage of extended personal intercourse, a trustworthy account of the religious experience of a community can scarcely be achieved by even the most careful student.

II. They seek to set each form of Indian religion by the side of Christianity in such a way that the relationship may stand out clear. Jesus Christ has become to them the light of

all their seeing, and they believe Him destined to be the light of the world. They are persuaded that sooner or later the age-long quest of the Indian spirit for religious truth and power will find in Him at once its goal and a new starting-point, and they will be content if the preparation of this series contributes in the smallest degree to hasten this consummation. If there be readers to whom this motive is unwelcome, they may be reminded that no man approaches the study of a religion without religious convictions, either positive or negative for both reader and writer, therefore, it is better that these should be explicitly stated at the outset. Moreover, even a complete lack of sympathy with the motive here acknowledged need not diminish a reader's interest in following an honest and careful attempt to bring the religions of India into comparison with the religion which to-day is their only possible rival, and to which they largely owe their present noticeable and significant revival.

It is possible that to some minds there may seem to be a measure of incompatibility between these two motives. The writers, however, feel otherwise. For them the second motive reinforces the first: for they have found that he who would lead others into a new faith must first of all understand the faith that is theirs already—understand it, moreover, sympathetically, with a mind quick to note not its weaknesses alone but that in it which has enabled it to survive and has given it its power over the hearts of those who profess it.

The duty of the Editors of the series is limited to seeing that the volumes are in general harmony with the principles here described. Each writer is alone responsible for the opinions expressed in his volume, whether in regard to Indian religions or to Christianity.

THE RELIGIOUS QUEST OF INDIA
AN OUTLINE
OF THE
RELIGIOUS LITERATURE
OF INDIA

BY

J. N. FARQUHAR, M.A., D.LITT., OXON.

HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK
TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY

1920



FOREWORD

THIS book has been written from an overwhelming sense of personal need. On every occasion when I have tried to think my way through the history of any one of the chief Hindu sects or philosophies, or to realize the origin and growth of some doctrine or discipline, I have found my way barred, because the religious literature is so imperfectly known. Numberless friends have expressed in conversation and correspondence the same feeling of helplessness. In order to deal with any one of these subjects it would be necessary for the student to undertake first of all a long and difficult investigation into the sources.

The Vedic literature has been studied with the utmost care by a company of brilliant scholars, certain sections of the philosophical literature have been critically examined; the classical Sanskrit literature is well known, and portions of the literature of Buddhism and of Jainism have been carefully described, but on the mass of the books produced by Hindu sects and on great sections of Buddhist and Jain literature very little labour has yet been expended: while no attempt has ever been made to deal with the religious history as an undivided whole which must be seen as one long process of development before the meaning of the constituent sects or religions can be fully understood.

Consequently, the question arose whether it would not be possible to write a sketch of the whole religious literature of India. I was under no illusions as to the magnitude and the difficulty of the undertaking, and I was very painfully conscious of the slenderness of my own linguistic preparation for the task. On the other hand, I believed that, from the point of view of the study of religions, what was wanted was

not so much fresh critical study of individual books as a clear comprehensible survey of the literature so far as critical inquiry, translations, and the publication of texts have made it known, so that the student might be able to begin the study of any part of it with intelligence, and to find his way without serious difficulty to all the existing literature, modern as well as ancient, which deals with the section of the field in which he is interested.

It was quite clear that to bring together all that is already known about Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain literature, whether in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, or the modern vernaculars, and exhibit it as one historical development, would be extremely illuminating. The three religions are moments in a single religious movement; and they have reacted on each other throughout their history. Vernacular religious books are as truly a vital part of the growth of the sects as their more formal Sanskrit manuals are. For a full understanding of the history, the whole must be envisaged as one great movement.

I was also conscious that during the last twenty years a very large number of elements in the religious and literary history have been illuminated by fresh discoveries. A good deal of work has been done on the vernacular literatures, and masses of sectarian works in Sanskrit have been unearthed. Yet most of these important advances lie buried in notes in learned journals, in prefaces to texts, in catalogues, in articles in encyclopaedias, or in obscure monographs. They have not yet found their way into any text-book of the literature or of the religions. For example, the problem of the date of the philosophical Sūtras has quite recently been brought much nearer solution, and the result is a general clarifying of the perspective in one of the most important periods. Numerous books, articles and stray observations have shed welcome rays of light on these systems and their history. Professor Keith's Vedic works contain masses of historical and chronological observations referring to the whole of Vedic and sub-Vedic

literature Professor Hopkins's book, *The Great Epic of India*, throws a flood of light on the religious changes of the time when the epics were gradually being formed. The serried phalanx of details exhibited in Guérinot's splendid thesaurus has never been worked up into a history of Jain literature. Numerous works describe or throw light on sections of the literature of Buddhism; yet no one has reduced them to a single ordered narrative. H. P. Śāstri's catalogues of Nepalese manuscripts, Vidyābhūṣaṇa's volume on mediaeval logic, Bhandarkar's work on the sects, and Schrader's volume on the Vaiṣṇava Saṁhitās, each contain notable contributions to religious and literary history. Finally, translations from various Indian tongues have in recent years brought many of the more interesting texts within reach of the student of religions.

Another consideration which helped me to get over the feeling that it was extremely rash to undertake such a book was the fact that I have had personal religious intercourse with members of most of the modern sects which come under review, and that, in the ordinary course of my work, I am able to meet Indian scholars and in conversation to receive from them detailed information not otherwise obtainable.

Careful students are well aware that, if the religious history of India is to be understood, each of the leading sects of the three religions must be described by itself. Yet, if each is dealt with in isolation, where will the general movement make itself felt, and how shall we perceive the rise of changes common to all the sects? Clearly the unity of the history in all its length and breadth must be regarded as broken and diversified, on the one hand, by numerous religious communities which, so to speak, lie parallel to each other, and, on the other, by successive waves of change each of which has swept over all the communities in existence at the time of its appearance, and has modified each in some degree. How, then, were these two forms of variation to be exhibited in a continuous narrative? I have attempted to divide the milleniums

covered by the growth of the literature into periods corresponding as nearly as possible to the great waves of change in belief and practice, and within each period to group the books, as far as possible, according to the religion, the sect, and the subject to which they severally belong.

The result of this method of procedure is to throw the broad changes marked by the periods into bold relief and to indicate clearly which sects were active within each period, but it has this disadvantage that, in the case of every sect which has been prominent through several periods, the history is cut up into as many pieces. But this disadvantage is more apparent than real, for the student who wishes to deal with a single community will probably find it a rewarding piece of work to study first the whole history throughout a number of periods, and then to re-read consecutively the portions which deal with the particular community.

The reason why the investigation ends with the eighteenth century is this, that from that point Western influence began to act on the Indian mind, and the new forces thereby released are still only in process of being revealed, so that it is not yet possible to write an account of them in any way comparable with the other chapters of the book. In my *Modern Religious Movements in India* an attempt has been made to sketch the religious organizations which have made their appearance since the dawn of the new day.

In preparing the book I have tried to make the narrative readable, if possible, despite the great compression which is necessary, if the subject is to be set forth within the compass of a single volume. I have, therefore, mentioned in the text only volumes of outstanding importance, and have relegated all the rest of the detail involved to the Bibliography. Thus the advanced student had better use the two parts of the book together. The narrative is meant to give an outline of the history and to exhibit the position and influence of the chief masses of the literature and of the leading thinkers and writers, while the Bibliography is meant to supply lists of all

the more important religious works, of the best critical books and articles written on these in modern times and of all available translations. For two reasons I decided not to give particulars about editions in the original tongues—these are so numerous that it would take much space to catalogue them, and it is clear that, from the point of view of the average student of religions, books in the original languages are almost useless.

The text of each chapter is divided up by means of headings, so as to exhibit the sectarian relationships, and is then further subdivided into short sections, consecutively numbered, to facilitate reference. In the main part of the Bibliography the books of each sect or school are arranged as far as possible in historical order, and consecutively numbered, the dates and the numbers being printed in emphasized type, so that the chronology may stand out clear and the numbers may readily catch the eye.

It may be well also to point out the unavoidable limitations of the work. First of all, the whole of the secular literature is dropped out of sight. Secondly, since our aim is the study of the religions, the emphasis falls throughout on the religious rather than on the literary aspects of the books. Thirdly, our attention is restricted to the literature as the chief source of knowledge of the religions, and no attempt is made to deal, except in the most incidental way, with other sources, epigraphy, archaeology, art, and what not. Again, while the nature of the task makes it necessary to say a great deal about the religions, the work is not a history of the religions but a sketch of the religious literature. It may also be well to warn readers that large elements of Indian religion scarcely appear in our pages at all. Those cults which have produced no literature are necessarily outside our survey.

* I owe a great deal of the most reliable information in the book to the assistance of friends. The subject is so vast and involves so much accurate knowledge that it was clear from the outset that I should have to rely largely on the help of others.

I owe the greatest debt of all to a number of Indian scholars who have most generously given me of their very best. I subjoin a list of my chief helpers with the subjects on which they have given me information.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Vindhyeśvarī Prasād of the Sanskrit Library, Benares. The Vedānta and the Smārtas.

Dr. Gangā Nātha Jhā, Allahabad: The Karma Mīmāṃsā.

Dr. Laḍḍu, the Sanskrit College, Benares: The Bhāgavatas and early Maiāthī literature.

The Rev. Francis Kingsbury, United Theological College Bangalore. Tamil literature and the history of the Tamil Śaivas.

A. Govindāchārya Svāmin, Mysore City. the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas. Rao Sahib P. G. Halkatti, Bijapur, and another distinguished Viṣṇu Śaiva: the Viṣṇu Śaivas.

Pandita M. L. Śāstrī, Broach and Poona. the Vallabhāchāryas.

Prof. Bhāgavata Kumāra Gosvāmī¹ Śāstrī, M.A., Hoogly. the Chaitanya sect.

Pandita Rādhā Charana Gosvāmī² Vidyāvāgīśa, Honorary Magistrate, Brindāban. the Nimbārkas.

Dr. V. V. Ramaṇa Śāstrī, Tanjore. the later Śaiva literature.

Dr. M. Kṛṣṇamāchārya, Tanaku, Kistna dist. chronological questions.

Mr. Justice J. L. Jainī, Indore. the Digambara Jain Secondary Canon.

Mr. P. P. Subramanya Śāstrī³ Balliol College, Oxford. Appaya Dikshita, and Śākta worship among Smārtas.

So many Missionaries have been of service to me that I must not attempt to mention them all.

The late Dr. K. S. Macdonald of the United Free Church Mission, Calcutta, set about gathering material on the Hindu Tantras a few years before his death, and persuaded a number of his friends to analyse or translate one or more Tantras each,

¹ He is a lineal descendant of Vamśīvadana, one of the companions of Chaitanya. See p. 308.

² He comes of a Mādhva stem.
³ He is a lineal descendant of Appaya Dikshita's brother, Achan Dikshita.

in order to help him in the study. The MS. material which he left, most obligingly placed at my service by Mrs Macdonald, has helped me considerably with the later history of the Śākta sect in Bengal. These MSS. may be found on p. 389 of the Bibliography, each described as belonging to the Macdonald MSS.

I owe a special debt to my friend the late Rev. J J Johnson of the Church Missionary Society, Benares, who passed suddenly away shortly after my visit to him in December, 1917. It will be something of a consolation for my heavy loss if I bear testimony here to his worth. He was thoroughly well known all over India among Hindu scholars and ascetics for his beautiful Sanskrit speech and his interest in Hindu philosophy. Every one called him Pandit Johnson. How often did the three of us meet—Mr Johnson, his loved and trusted friend, Mahāmahopādhyāya Vinḍhyeśvarī Prasād, a scholar of rare judgement who has been already mentioned, and myself. We met so because of my inability to express myself in the classic tongue of India, and our procedure was always the same. I asked my questions in English, and Mr. Johnson expressed them in Sanskrit. I was then usually able to follow the Śāstrī's Sanskrit replies, but if I failed to catch a point Mr. Johnson again interpreted. Now that he is gone Benares can never again be the same to me.

To the Rev. Dr. James Shephard, of Udaipur—charming host and beloved missionary—I owe the settlement of the date and history of Mītā Bā, the Rajput princess whose lyrics of passionate devotion for Kṛishna have won her enduring fame.

A pair of Poona friends, the Rev. Dr. N. Macnicol and the Rev. A. Robertson, have given me most generous help toward the interpretation of the religion and the poetry of the Marāthā saints and the elucidation of Manbhau problems.

To all others, whether Indians or Missionaries, who have answered my questions, orally or by letter, or who have led me to fresh sources of information, I wish to express my unfeigned gratitude and thanks.

My teacher Prof. A. A. Macdonell of Oxford, read the first and second chapters of the book in manuscript, and made many valuable suggestions. For the assistance of his ripe Vedic scholarship I am deeply grateful. Prof A. Berniedale Keith of Edinburgh read the whole manuscript, and sent me a large number of critical notes which have saved me from blunders, from dangerous statements, and from reliance on weak evidence, and have suggested numerous fresh points of view. For such help no thanks can make an adequate return.

But while I owe much precious information and help to these scholars, Indian and European, they must not be held responsible for any statement in the text, for I have not accepted all their conclusions. The final historical judgement in every case is my own. It is therefore quite possible that my suggestions as to what the history behind the evidence is in any particular case may seem to them quite unjustifiable. This is above all likely to happen in the case of the sects. Dr. Berniedale Keith is certainly of opinion that I have been a good deal too optimistic in attempting to assign individual Purāṇas, Tāntias, and Upanishads to the chronological periods adopted in the book. I have, however, in each case indicated that the ascription is tentative and at best only probable; and it has seemed wise even to run the risk of being discovered in error, in the hope that the tentative history may stimulate further investigation.

Letters indicating errors or omissions or fresh points of view will be very warmly welcomed.

To Dr. James Monson, Librarian of the Indian Institute, Oxford, who has faithfully carried out the long toilsome task of revising the proofs, I wish to offer my sincere gratitude.

11 FRENCHAY ROAD, OXFORD

December, 1919

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE EARLY VEDIC RELIGION: <i>x</i> to <i>y</i> .	I
i. Rik, I-IX	4
ii. Rik, X, Sāman, Early Yajus	15
iii. Brahmanas, Atharvan, Ānanyakas	23
II. TRANSMIGRATION AND RELEASE <i>y</i> to 200 B.C.	33
i. Transmigration and Karma	33
ii. The Twice-born and their Literature	36
iii. The Epics	44
iv. Systems of Release	51
A. The Upanishads	52
B. Many Schools	60
C. The Buddhist School	62
D. The Jain School	73
III. THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS HINISM 200 B.C. to	
A.D. 200	78
i. Hinduism	79
A. The Twice-born and their Literature	79
B. The Epics	83
C. The <i>Bhagavadgītā</i>	86
D. The Philosophies	92
E. The Didactic Epic	95
F. Vaiṣṇava Material in the Didactic Epic	96
G. Śaiva Material in the Didactic Epic	101
ii. Buddhism	103
A. Hinayāna	103
<i>a</i> Sthavira Literature	104
<i>b</i> Sautrāntika Literature	106
<i>c</i> Sarvāstivādin Literature	107
<i>d</i> Mahāsāṃghika Literature	109
<i>e</i> Buddhist Worship	110
B. Mahāyāna	111
<i>a</i> . The Full Mahāyāna	112
<i>b</i> The Paradise Mahāyāna	117
C. Buddhism in China	118
iii. Jainism	119

CHAP.	PAGE
IV. PHILOSOPHIES AND SECTS A.D. 200 to A.D. 550	122
1. Hinduism	122
A. The Philosophies	122
<i>a.</i> The Karma Mīmāṃsā	125
<i>b.</i> The Uttara Mīmāṃsā or Vedānta	126
<i>c.</i> The Sāṅkhya	129
<i>d.</i> The Yoga	131
<i>e.</i> The Vaiśeṣika	133
<i>f.</i> The Nyāya	134
B. The Purāṇas	136
C. The Orthodox Twice-born and their Literature	140
D. Vaiṣṇava Literature	143
E. Śaiva Literature	145
F. Brahmā Literature	148
G. Durgā Literature	149
H. Saura Literature	151
ii. Buddhism	153
A. Hīnayāna Literature	154
B. Mahāyāna Literature	157
<i>a.</i> The Mādhyamakas	159
<i>b.</i> The Vijñānavādins	160
iii. Jainism	162
A. Śvetāmbara Literature	162
B. Digambara Literature	165
V. THE ŚĀKTA SYSTEMS A.D. 550 to A.D. 900	167
1. Hinduism	168
A. The Philosophies	168
<i>a.</i> The Karma Mīmāṃsā	168
<i>b.</i> The Vedānta	170
<i>c.</i> The Sāṅkhya	176
<i>d.</i> The Yoga	177
<i>e.</i> The Vaiśeṣika	177
<i>f.</i> The Nyāya	177
B. The Purāṇas	178
C. Smārtas and their Literature	179
D. Vaiṣṇava Literature	181
<i>a.</i> Bhāgavata Literature	181
<i>b.</i> Pāñcharātra Literature	182
1. Tamil Vaiṣṇavas	187
2. The Narasimha Sect	188
3. The Rāma Sect	189

CONTENTS

xix

CHAP.		PAGE
V.	E Śaiva Literature	190
(cont.).	a. Pāśupata Śaivas	191
	1. The Lakulīśas	191
	2. The Kāpālika	192
	3. The Nīthas	192
	b. Āgamic Śaivas	193
	1. Tamil Śaivas	196
	2. Kashmiri Śaivas	198
	F Śākta Literature	199
	a. The Tantras	199
	b. Mantra, Yantra, Mudrā	202
	c. The Cult	202
	G Saiva Literature	205
	H Cāmpātya Literature	206
ii	Buddhism	206
	A. The Hinayāna	207
	B. The Mahāyāna	207
	a. The Mādhyamakas	208
	b. The Vipśanavadins	209
	c. The Śākta Movement	209
iii	Jainism	213
	A. Śvetāmbara Literature	213
	B. Digambara Literature	215
VI	BHĀKTI. A.D. 900 to A.D. 1350	220
i	Hinduism	220
	A. The Philosophies	220
	a. The Kaṭma Mīmāṃsa	220
	a. The Vedānta	221
	c. The Sāṃkhya	223
	d. The Yoga	223
	e. The Vaiśeṣhika	223
	f. The Nyaya	224
	B. The Purāṇas	225
	C. Smārta Literature	226
	D. Vaiṣṇava Literature	228
	a. General	228
	b. Bhāgavata Literature	229
	1. The <i>Bhāgavata Purāṇa</i>	229
	2. The Bhāgavatas	233
	3. The Bhaktas of the Marathā country	234

CHAP	PAGE
VI.	
(cont)	
4 The Mādhvas	235
5 Rādhā	237
6 The Vishnuśvāmīs	238
7 The Nimbāikas	239
a Pāñcharātra Literature	240
1 The Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas	240
2 The Manbhāus	247
3 The Narasimha Sect	249
4 The Rāma Sect	249
E Śaiva Literature	251
a Pāśupata Śaivas	251
1. The Lakulīṣas	251
2 The Kāpālikas	252
3 The Gorakhnāthīs	253
4 The Raseśvaras	254
b Āgamic Śaivas	255
1. The Sanskrit School of Śaiva Siddhānta	255
2 Tamil Śaivas	255
3 Kashmiri Śaivas	258
4 Vīra Śaivas	259
F. Śākta Literature	265
a The Left-hand School	265
b The Right-hand School	267
c The Bhakti School	269
G Saura Literature	269
H Gāṇapatya Literature	270
I. Dharma Literature	271
ii Buddhism	272
A The Śāktas	272
B. Buddhist Lands	274
iii Jainism	277
A. Śvetāmbara Literature	277
B Digambara Literature	281
VII. MUSLIM INFLUENCE, A D 1350 to A D 1800	284
i Hinduism	285
A The Philosophies	285
a. The Karma Mīmāṃsā	285
b. The Vedānta	286
c The Sāṅkhya	288
d The Yoga	289
e. The Vaiśeṣhika and the Nyāya	289

CONTENTS

XXI

CHAP		PAGE
VII	B. Reconciliation of Systems	290
(cont.)	C. The Hindu people	292
	D. Smārta Literature	293
	E. Vaiṣṇava Literature	296
	<i>a.</i> General	296
	<i>b.</i> Bhāgavata	297
	1. The Bhāgavata Community	297
	2. Mañḍhā Bhaktas	298
	3. The Mādhvas	302
	4. The Viṣṇusvāmīs	304
	5. The Nimbārkas	305
	6. Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa Literary Verse	305
	7. The Chaitanya Sect	307
	8. The Vallabhāchāryas	312
	9. The <i>Bhakta mala</i>	317
	10. The Rādhā-Vallabhis	318
	11. The Hari-Dāsīs	318
	12. The Svāmi-Nāṭyaṇīs	318
	<i>c.</i> Panchanātha	319
	1. The Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas	319
	2. The Sātanīs	321
	3. The Maṇbhāṇīs	322
	4. The Ramanandīs	323
	<i>d.</i> Reformed	330
	1. Kabir and his Influence	330
	2. The Kabirpanthīs	335
	3. The Sikhs	336
	4. The Dadūpanthīs	341
	5. The Lal Dāsīs	342
	6. The Satnāms	342
	7. The Baud Lāhīs	344
	8. The Sadhīs	344
	9. The Chātan-Dāsīs	344
	10. The Śrīva-Nāṭyaṇīs	345
	11. The Garīb-Dāsīs	345
	12. The Rām-Sānehīs	345
	f. Śaiva Literature	346
	<i>a.</i> General	346
	<i>b.</i> Pīṣupata Śaivas	347
	1. The Gorakhnāthīs	347
	<i>c.</i> Āgamic Śaivas	349
	1. Sanskrit School of Śaiva Siddhānt	349
	2. Tamil Śaivas	350

CHAP		PAGE
VII.	3. Sittars	352
(cont.).	4 Kashmir Śaivas	352
	5. Vira Śaivas	353
	G. Śakta Literature	353
	<i>a</i> The Left-hand School	353
	<i>b</i> The Right-hand School	357
	<i>c</i> . The Bhakti School	359
	ii. Jainism	359
	A. Śvetāmbara Literature	359
	B Digambara Literature	360
BIBLIOGRAPHY	362
INDEX	407

ABBREVIATIONS

USED IN THE NOTES AND THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Acworth, <i>BM</i> . | Acworth, <i>Ballads of the Mārāthās</i> , London, 1894. |
| <i>AMG II</i> . | Feer, <i>Analyse du Kandjour</i> , <i>Annales du Musée Guimet</i> , II, Paris, 1881. |
| <i>AMG V</i> . | Feer, <i>Traduction du Kandjour</i> , <i>Annales du Musée Guimet</i> , V, Paris, 1883. |
| <i>AR</i> | <i>Asiatic Researches</i> |
| <i>ARAD</i> | <i>Annual Report of the Archaeological Department</i> |
| Arunachalam, <i>ST I</i> | <i>Studies and Translations from the Tamil</i> , by P. A., Madras, 1898. |
| Avalon, <i>HG</i> . | Arthur and Ellen Avalon, <i>Hymns to the Goddess</i> , London, 1913. |
| Avalon, <i>SP</i> . | Avalon, <i>The Serpent Power</i> , London, 1919. |
| Avalon, <i>TH</i> . | Avalon, <i>Pantra of the Great Liberation (Mahamuruga ?)</i> , London, 1913. |
| Avalon, <i>J</i> | Avalon, <i>Tantric Texts</i> , London, 1913 ff. |
| <i>B</i> | Balarama. |
| Barnett, <i>HI</i> | Barnett, <i>Heart of India</i> , a vol. of translations, London, 1908. |
| Barth, <i>RI</i> . | Barth, <i>Religions of India</i> , London, 1906. |
| <i>BEFO</i> | <i>Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient</i> . |
| Beng | Bengali. |
| Bhandarkar (V). | <i>Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume</i> , Poona, 1917. |
| Bhandarkar, <i>PHD</i> . | Bhandarkar, <i>Early History of the Deccan</i> , Bombay, 1884. |
| Bhandarkar, <i>R</i> . | Bhandarkar, <i>Reports on the Search for Sanskrit</i> , <i>MS</i> , Bombay. |
| Bhandarkar, <i>TS</i> . | Bhandarkar, <i>Vaishnavism, Saivism &c</i> , GRUNDRISSE, 1913. |
| Bhattacharya, <i>HCS</i> . | Bhattacharya, <i>Hindu Castes and Sects</i> , Calcutta, 1896. |
| <i>BI</i> . | <i>Bibliotheca Indica</i> , a series published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. |
| Bloomfield, <i>AI</i> | Bloomfield, <i>Amuravada</i> , GRUNDRISSE, 1899. |
| Bloomfield, <i>RI</i> | Bloomfield, <i>Religion of the Veda</i> , New York, 1908. |
| <i>BMCTB</i> | <i>Bibliothèque Muséum Catalogue of Tamil Books</i> , London, 1909. |
| <i>BSOST</i> . | <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies</i> , London. |
| Chanda, <i>LAC</i> . | Chanda, <i>Indo-Aryan Rivers</i> , Rajshahi, 1916. |
| Chatterji, <i>HR</i> | Chatterji, <i>The Hindu Realism</i> , Allahabad, 1912. |
| Chatterji, <i>K'S</i> | Chatterji, <i>Kashmir Shaivism</i> , Simagar, 1914. |
| Chauluk | Chaulukya Series, Benares. |

- CII. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*
 Colebrooke, ME *Colebrooke, Miscellaneous Essays*, I London, 1837
 Comm. Commentary
 Cowell, SDS. Cowell and Gough, *The Saṃhitā-saṃgraha of Mādḥava*,¹ London, 1906
 CTr. Chinese translation
 Deussen, AGP Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, Leipzig, 1906
 Deussen, PU. Deussen, *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, Edinburgh, 1906
 Deussen, SUV. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*, Leipzig, 1897.
 Deussen, SV. Deussen, *System of the Vedānta*, Chicago, 1912
 DS. Dharmasūtra
 Duff, CI Mabel Duff, *Chronology of India*, London, 1899.
 Dutt, MT Dutt, *A Prose English Translation of the Mahā-nirvāṇa Tantra*, Calcutta, 1900
 EB. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XIth ed.
 Eggeling, SMIO *Sanskrit MSS in India Office*, 1887.
 ERE. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Edinburgh
 ETI. English Translation.
 FTr. French Translation.
 Garbe, IC. Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum*, Tübingen, 1914.
 Garbe, SY Garbe, *Sāṃkhya und Yoga*, GRUNDRIS, 1896.
 Getty, CNB Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford, 1914
 Gover, FSSI. Gover, *Folk-songs of Southern India*, London, 1872
 Govindāchārya, R Govindāchārya, *Life of Rāmānuja*, Madras, 1906
 Govindāchārya, YMD Govindacharya, ETr. of *Yatindra Moha Papiha*, Madras, 1912.
 Grierson, LH. Grierson, *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, Calcutta, 1889. References to pages.
 Griffis. Griffis, *Religions of Japan*, New York, 1904
 Griffith, RV Griffith, *The Hymns of the Rigveda Translated*, Benares, 1896.
 Growse, M. Growse, *Mathurā*,² Allahabad, 1883
 Growse, R. Growse, *The Rāmāyana of Tulsī Das*,⁴ ETr., Allahabad, 1887
 GRUNDRIS. *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* (Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research), Strassburg.
 GSAI. *Giornale della Società asiatica italiana*, Firenze
 GTr. German Translation
 Guérinot. Guérinot, *Essai de Bibliographie Jaina*, Paris, 1906. References to pages
 Hall. Fitzedward Hall, *An Index of the Indian Philosophical Systems*, Calcutta, 1859.
 Haug, AB Haug, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, Bombay, 1863.
 Hillebrandt, RL. Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur, Vedische Opfer, und Zauber*, GRUNDRIS, 1897
 Hoernle, MRBL. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature*, Oxford, 1916

- Holtmann, *MBH* Holtmann, *Das Mahabharata*, Kiel, 1892-5
Hopkins, *GP* Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, New York, 1901
Hopkins, *ION* Hopkins, *India Old and New*, New York, 1901
Hopkins, *RZ* Hopkins, *Religions of India*, Boston, 1908
Hopkins, *Riding Caste* Hopkins, 1889
Hopkins, *IT* Hopkins, *Veda-technique*, *J.AOS.* XXIII, 333.
H. P. Sastri H. P. Sastri, *A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected Paper MSS belonging to the Dindur Library, Nepal*, Calcutta, I. 1905, II. 1915.
IA. *The Indian Antiquary*, Bombay
IOC. *International Oriental Congress.
J. St. *Indische Studien*, 1850 ff.
ITr Italian Translation
Iyengar, *Outlines* P. T. Suryasa Iyengar, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, Benares, 1909
Jal. *Journal Asiatique*, Paris
Jacob, *PLH* Jacob, *Elzer Atharvama Upanishads*, Bombay, 1891.
Jacob, *MM* *Neue wählte Erzählungen in Maharashtra*, Leipzig, 1886
Jacob, *R* Jacob, *Das Ramayana*, Bonn, 1893.
Jain, *OJ* Jain, *Outlines of Jainism*, Cambridge, 1916.
J.AOS. *Journal of American Oriental Society*
J.B.B. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
J.B.R. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
Jha, *PSM* Jha, *Prabodh School of Purva Mimamsa*, Allahabad, 1911
Jhaveri, *Met* Jhaveri, *Hilestems in Gujarati Literature*, Bombay, 1914.
Jolly, *RS.* Jolly, *Religion and State*, GRUNDRISSE, 1896.
J.P.S. *Journal of the Pali Text Society*
J.R.S. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
K. Aiyangar, *IT* S. Krishna wami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, London, 1911.
Kath, *A. I.* Kath, *Samaya Anavaka*, Oxford, 1909
Kath, *SS.* Kath, *Sankhya System*, Calcutta, 1918.
Kath, *TS.* Kath, *Uttarva Samhita*, Harvard, 1914.
Kern, *MM* Kennedy, *Hindu Mythology*, London, 1851
Kern, *MM* Kern, *Manus of Indian Buddhism*, GRUNDRISSE, 1896
Kingsbury & Phillips, *Hymns of the Final Sarva Saints*, Calcutta, 1920
Krishna Sastri, *STB* H. Krishna Sastri, *South-Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, Madras, 1916
Kushnasaany Aiyar, Kushnasaany Aiyar, *Sri Sankaracharya*, Madras, Natesan.
Macauliffe, *Macauliffe*, *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1909.
Macdonald MSS, See pp. xiv, xv.
Macdonell, *Macdonell*, *Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1900
Macnicol, *P.H.S.* Macnicol, *Peasants of Maratha Saints*, Calcutta, 1919

- Mādhava, *SDS*. Mādhava, *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha*,
MBH. *Mahābhārata*
MBV. Miśra Brothers, *Miśra Bandhu Vinoda*, Allahabad,
 1916
 Mitra R. L. Mitra, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*,
 Calcutta, 1882.
 Mitra, *Notices* Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS*, Calcutta
 Monier Williams, *BH*. Monier Williams, *Brahmism and Hinduism*,
 London, 1891.
Mod. Rev. *The Modern Review*, a monthly, Calcutta
 Moulton, *EZ* Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913.
 Moulton, *TM* Moulton, *Treasure of the Mogi*, London, 1917
 Mrs. Rhys Davids, *PEB* Mrs Rhys Davids, *Psalm of the Early*
Buddhists, London, of the *Sisters* 1909, of the
Brethren, 1913
 Mrs Stevenson, *HJ*. Mrs Sinclair Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, Lon-
 don, 1915.
 Muir, *OST*. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, London, 1858 ff.
 Muller, *ASL* Max Muller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*,² London
 1860.
 Muller, *SS* Max Muller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*,
 London, 1899
 Nallasvami Pillai, *SJB* Nallasvami Pillai, *Śiva jñāna Bodham*, Madras,
 1895
 Nallasvami Pillai, *SSS* Nallasvami Pillai, *Studies in Sāṃkhya Sādhana*,
 Madras, 1911.
 Nanjio Bunyiu Nanjio, *The Chinese Buddhist Tripitaka*,
 Oxford, 1883. References to entries
 Oldenberg, *Buddha* Oldenberg, *Buddha*, London, 1882
 Oldenberg, *LU*. Oldenberg, *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die*
Anfänge des Buddhismus, Göttingen, 1915.
 Oldenberg, *RV*. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1891
 OTF Oriental Translation Fund of the Royal Asiatic
 Society
 P. Pūrāṇa.
 Padmanabhachar, *LTM*. Padmanabhachar, *Life and Teachings of*
Maithavacharyar, Coimbatore, 1909.
 Pargiter, *MP*. Pargiter, *The Mārtaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, translated,
 Calcutta, 1904.
 Pargiter, *PTDKA*. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the*
Kali Age. Oxford, 1913
 Peterson Peterson, *Reports on the Search for Sanskrit MSS*,
 Bombay
 Pischel, *GPS* Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, Stras-
 burg, 1900
 Pope, *TV*. Pope, *The Tiruvāṣāgam*, Text, Intro., ETr., Oxford,
 1900.
 Poussin, *Opinions* Poussin, *Bouddhisme, Opinions sur l'Histoire de*
la Dogmatique, Paris, 1909
 Poussin, *V. & Y*. Poussin, *Vasubandhu et Yāsomitra*, Troisième
 Chapitre de l'*Abhidharmakośa*, London, 1914-18.
 Poussin, *WN*. Poussin, *The Way to Nirvāṇa*, Cambridge, 1917.

- Powlett, *Uttar*. Powlett, *Uttar, a District Memoir*, Allahabad, 1878.
- Prak. Prakrit.
- Prasad, *SBS*. Rai Balesvar Prasad Bahadur, *Sant Banī Sangraha*, Allahabad, 1915.
- Quackenbos, *SPM*. Quackenbos, *The Sanskrit Poems of Mayura with Banā's Chandiśataka*, New York, 1917.
- Rajagopalachariar, *URL*. T. Rajagopalachariar, *The Vaishnavite Reformers of India*, Madras.
- R A Śāstri, *Ānandalaharī*. R Anantakrishna Śāstri, *Ānandalaharī*, Palghat, 1899.
- R A. Śāstri, *Lalita*. R Anantakrishna Śāstri, *Lalitāsahasranāma*, with Bhaskararāya's comm., in *RTI*, Madras, 1899.
- Rhys Davids, *ALB*. Rhys Davids, *American Lectures on Buddhism*, New York, 1901.
- Rhys Davids, *BBS*. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, London, 1880.
- Rhys Davids, *BI*. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, London, 1903.
- Rhys Davids, *DB*. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, London, 1890.
- Rhys Davids, *HHI*. Rhys Davids, *History of Indian Buddhism*, London, 1897.
- Rice, *KL*. Rice, *Kanarese Literature*, Calcutta, 1918.
- Russell and Una Lal. Russell and Una Lal, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, London, 1916.
- S. S. Aiyangar, *TS*. S. S. Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies*, Madras, 1914.
- Sansk. Sanskrit.
- Sakai, *CP I*. Sakai, *Chaitanya's Pilgrimages and Teachings*, being the middle part of the *Chaitanya-charitamrita* in English, Calcutta, 1913.
- SBH*. *Sacred Books of the East*, Oxford.
- SBI*. *Sacred Books of the Hindus*, Parni Office, Allahabad.
- Schomertus, *SS*. Schomertus, *Der Śāstra Siddhanti*, Leipzig, 1912.
- Schrader, *IPLS*. Schrader, *Introduction to the Pancharatra and the Ārjibuddhya Sāhita*, Madras, 1916.
- Schroeder, *ILK*. Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Kultur*, Leipzig, 1887.
- Seidenstucker, *PBU*. Seidenstucker, *Pali Buddhismus in Uebersetzung*, Breslau, 1911.
- Sen, *CC*. Sen, *Chaitanya and his Companions*, Calcutta, 1917.
- Sen, *IBLL*. Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, Calcutta, 1911.
- Sen, *VLMB*. Sen, *Vaisnava Literature of Medinipur Bengal*, Calcutta, 1917.
- Sen, *VSP*. Sen, *Vaṅga Sahitya Parichaya*, selections from old Bengali literature, Calcutta, 1914.
- Seshagiri Rao, *SSTM*. *Report on the Search for Sanskrit and Tamil MSS.*, Madras.
- Siddhanta Dipika*. A monthly magazine, Madras, 1897-1915.

<i>SJM.</i>	<i>Sanskrit Journal of Madras</i>
<i>SKPAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> , Berlin.
<i>S.M.O.</i>	<i>Sanskrit MSS in the India Office</i> , London, 1887
Sualì, <i>Introduzione</i>	Sualì, <i>Introduzione allo Studio della Filosofia Indiana</i> , Pavia, 1913
Sukhtāṅkar, <i>TVR.</i>	Sukhtāṅkar, <i>Teachings of Vedānta acc. to Īśvarakṛishṇa</i> , Wien, 1908
Tam.	Tamil
Tel	Telugu
U.	Upanishad
<i>Vedic Index</i>	Macdonell and Keith, <i>Vedic Index of Names and Subjects</i> , London, 1912
Vidyābhūṣana, <i>USIL</i>	<i>Medieval System of Indian Logic</i> , Calcutta, 1909
V. Smith, <i>EHI</i>	Vincent A. Smith, <i>Early History of India</i> , Oxford, 1914
V. Smith, <i>HFA.</i>	V. Smith, <i>History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon</i> , Oxford, 1911
Walleser, <i>DAV</i>	Walleser, <i>Der altare Vedānta</i> , Heidelberg, 1910.
Warren, <i>BT</i>	Warren, <i>Buddhism in Translations</i> , Harvard, 1896
Watters	Watters, <i>On Yuan Chwang</i> , London, 1904
Weber, <i>HIL.</i>	Weber, <i>History of Indian Literature</i> , London, 1892
Westcott <i>Kābir</i>	Westcott, <i>Kābir and the Kābir Panth</i> , Cawnpore, 1907.
Whitney and Lanman, <i>IV</i>	Whitney and Lanman, <i>Alkara-vā-samhitā</i> , in <i>ETI</i> , Harvard, 1905
Wilson, <i>Sets</i>	Wilson, <i>Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus</i> , London, 1861
Wilson, <i>VP</i>	Wilson, <i>Vishnu Purāṇa</i> , London, 1864.
Wilson, <i>Works</i>	Wilson, <i>Select Works</i> , London, 1861.
Wilson, <i>TH</i>	Wilson, <i>Theatre of the Hindus</i> , London, 1871.
Winternitz	Winternitz, <i>Geschichte der indischen Literatur</i> , Leipzig, Vol I, 1908, Vol II 1, 1913.
Woods, <i>Yoga</i>	Woods, <i>The Yoga-system of Patañjali</i> , Harvard, 1914
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> 1847 ff

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY VEDIC RELIGION *x to y.*

§ 1 The investigations of the past century have shown clearly that the people who conquered India and created the Hindu religion and civilization belonged to that ancient race, now usually called Indo-European, from which sprang the Teutonic, Celtic, Slavonic, Italic, Hellenic, Armenian, Persian, and other peoples. This kinship is visible in the speech of the invaders,¹ in numerous details of their culture,² and also in their religion.³ From a comparison of the beliefs and practices of these many nations it is possible to form some idea of the religion of the parent Indo-European race. The basis of the religion was an animistic belief in a very large number of petty gods, each of which had a special function, but the people had already advanced to the conception of a few glorious heavenly gods (Sanskrit *deva*, Latin *deus*, &c.), each a representative of one of the greater aspects of nature. Sky, thunder, sun, moon, fire, wind, and water were the chief of this new group of great gods. They were worshipped with sacrifice, accompanied with potent formulae and prayer, the offerings being either laid out on grass for the gods to eat or wafted to them on the fire and smoke of the altar. Ancestors were also worshipped as powerful beings who from the other world watched over their descendants. There was thus already some sort of belief in immortality. Magic was highly regarded and much used. The family was patriarchal in

¹ Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*.

² Max Müller, *Biographies of Words*.

³ Schrader, art. 'Aryan Religion', *PRL*; Hillebrandt, *RL*, 1-10, Bloomfield, *RL*, 90-149.

character, marriage was universal, and sons were ardently desired.

§ 2. We cannot tell where the home of this ancient race was, nor at what times and places the great historical peoples hived off from it, but we can trace with certainty the invaders of India, in that stage of their life which immediately preceded the invasion¹. A people, partly nomadic, partly agricultural, lived for a considerable time somewhere in Central Asia, perhaps just to the north of the Hindu Kush. Finally they separated into two groups, perhaps by a process of migration so slow as to leave them unconscious that they had fallen apart, the one moving through Afghanistan into India, the other spreading over the wide territory which bears their racial name, Iran. This word is simply a variant form of Aryan, the name used by their brothers, the invaders of India. We may therefore speak of the period before the separation as the time of Indo-Iranian unity.

There is sufficient evidence available to enable us to form a clearer picture of this period than of the far earlier Indo-European period. Most of our knowledge arises from a comparison of the Veda, the earliest Indian literature, with the earliest literature of the Iranian peoples, viz the *Avesta*, the sacred book of the Zoroastrians of ancient Persia. A careful comparative study of the two reveals the fact that the Indo-Iranian people had advanced beyond the early Indo-European faith. The religion centres in the heavenly gods and the animistic divinities are far less prominent. There can be little doubt that among the gods revered were Varuna, Mitra, Soma, Aiyaman, Indra, the Ásvins (i.e. the Dioskouroi), and two semi-divine figures, Vivasvant and Yama. All occur in both literatures except Varuna, Indra, and the Ásvins. These are not definitely vouched for by the *Avesta*,² but they are named in an inscription found by Winckler at Boghaz Keui in

¹ See Keith on *The Early History of the Indo-Iranians*, Bhandarkar C I, 81

² Yet Indra and Nāsatya (i.e. the Ásvins) occur as demons in the mythology of the *Avesta*.

Asia Minor and believed to date from 1400 B.C.,¹ and there are so many points of resemblance between Ahura Mazda, the God of Zoroaster, and the Varuna of the *Rigveda* that one is almost driven to believe the two to be identical in origin.² There were three forms of sacrifice in use among the early people, the shedding of oblations of grain and milk on the sacred fire, the setting forth of basins of an intoxicating beverage (Sansk. *soma*, Avestan, *haoma*) for the gods to drink, and the sacrifice of animals. Soma had already been deified, and the priests had begun to sing hymns as an accompaniment to the ritual with which it was offered. The presence in the *Avesta* of a considerable number of ritual terms and designations of priests, which are exact equivalents of technical words and phrases found in the Vedas,³ proves that the basis of the liturgy and the ritual of the Vedic and the Zoroastrian religions had already taken shape. One most remarkable conception, the idea of law physical and moral as a fixed divine order, was formed at a very early date. It is already found in Persian proper names at a very early date, possibly 1600 B.C., in the form *arta*, and it appears in the *Rigveda* as *rita*, and in the *Avesta* in the form *asha*.

The time when the people fell into two parts is unknown. Some scholars would give it an extremely early date, while others assign it to the middle of the second millennium B.C.

§ 3. Hindus wrote no formal history at any period; for the early centuries there are no archaeological remains that throw any light on the course of events, nor is any definite information provided by nations outside India; so that the religious and epic literature forms the only sources of information available. Yet, though it is impossible to write the history, it is possible to learn much about the religion of that early time from these ancient books.

¹ It mentions Mitra, Varuna, Indira, Nāsatya (i.e. the Aśvins) as gods. Thus the high antiquity of Varuna is assured.

² Moulton, *EZ.* 61, Bloomfield, *RV.* 132 ff.

³ Hillebrandt, *RL* 11, Haug, *AB.* I. 61

In this chapter we deal with the development of the religion from the moment when the tribes entered India down to the time when the doctrine of transmigration and karma arose, and we divide the whole period into three sections in order to exhibit more clearly the growth of ideas and institutions.

1. *Rik*, I-IX.

§ 4. The *Rigveda*, the earliest literature of India, is a large collection of hymns connected in various ways with the sacrifices, the domestic ceremonies, and the religious speculation of the time. These hymns were composed by the invading Aryan tribes, at last severed from their brothers who were destined to produce Zoroaster and make Persia famous. When the earliest hymns were composed, they were settled in the territories forming the basin of the upper Indus and its tributaries, but thereafter they gradually spread farther east.

But the invading Aryans, tall in stature and of light complexion, did not form the main population. Scattered about among them and around them and over the plains of North India were innumerable tribes of short, dark people with whom they were frequently at war, and whom they called Dasyus and Dāsas. The hymns of the *Rigveda* give no indication that the Aryan tribes thought of themselves as being strangers in India or as being in any way related with another people away to the west. They seem to regard themselves as belonging to the soil on which they live. On the other hand, they are certainly very conscious of the differences between themselves and the Dāsas, and they regard their hostility towards them as not only natural but inevitable. These two races represent the chief elements in the ethnology of India to this day, and from them and the mutual influence they have exercised on each other have come, in the main, the civilization and the religion of India. In the study of the evolution of the religion of India we shall constantly be tempted to give our undivided attention to the Aryan race and community,

but to neglect the large part played throughout the history by the aborigines is to fail to grasp facts of great significance.

§ 5. In the following sentences we combine the few fragments of information given in the hymns about the dark tribes. They are said to have a black skin, and the difference in colour (*varṇa*) between them and the fair Aryans is frequently referred to. They are called *anās*, which probably means 'noseless', i.e. snub-nosed. They were arranged in clans, they had considerable wealth; and they built forts for themselves, frequently on hills; but there is no reason to think that in civilization they were at all comparable with the Aryans. The differences between them and the Aryans on which the hymns lay most stress are religious. The following epithets are applied to them 'not sacrificing', 'devoid of rites', 'addicted to strange vows', 'god-hating', 'without devotion'; and they are probably the people referred to as *asura-devāh*, 'those whose god is a phallus'. As many of these people were captured by the Aryans in war and reduced to slavery, the word *dāsa* came to bear the meaning of 'slave'.

§ 6. The picture which the hymns enable us to form of the Aryans shows us an early but not a primitive people; for they had made considerable progress in material civilization. Yet they were still a simple race, for they had neither coinage nor writing, and had little idea of number or measure. Their trade existed only as barter, the cow being the unit of exchange. They lived in wooden houses and built small forts on hills, to which they retired when hard pressed in war.

There was no caste among the Aryan tribes at this time. We certainly find a triple division of the people—warriors, priests, and commons, but there was no hard-and-fast law prohibiting intermarriage and commanding each son to follow his father's occupation. Yet the aristocratic warriors and priests stood out very distinctly from the common people, and it is only of the aristocracy that we have anything like adequate information. Though in race, religion, and language the Aryan

tribes were one, they had not reached the idea of forming themselves into a nation, nor had they a sovereign or a war-leader. Each tribe was independent and had its chief, who presided over his people in peace and led them in war. War led occasionally to a coalition of tribes.

Their literature shows that this people had a striking genius for language. Alone among all the languages of Indo-European speech their tongue, with the cultured literary language known as Sanskrit which grew out of it, retains each element in easily recognizable form. It has thus proved of very signal service to the science of philology.

§ 7. The *Rigveda*, which is not only the first monument of the Indian genius but the earliest literature produced within the Indo-European family of peoples, is a collection of 1,017 hymns (with eleven extra uncanonical pieces) distributed in ten books. Perhaps we shall find our way into the significance of the collection most readily if we attempt to sketch the way in which it seems to have come into existence.

We have seen above that, already in the Indo-Iranian period, the exhilarating drink made from the soma-plant had been deified, that a special ritual in which this divine drink was offered to the gods was in use, and that the singing of a hymn was an integral part of the ritual. This is the historical tap-root of the *Rigveda*. The invaders of India carried these customs with them, and continued the composition of hymns for the Soma-ritual in their new country. Since the hymn was sung, the priest who sang the hymn was called the Singer, *Udgāta*. But poetry and the hymn would not be restricted to a single use. Hence a custom arose, probably after the Aryans had entered India, that the leading priest, the Sacrificer, *Hotr*, who was responsible for offering, made in the fire and for animal-sacrifice, should recite, in honour of the god he was worshipping, a poem or hymn of praise, *Rich*. Then, as the ritual increased in detail, an assistant was appointed to undertake the manual acts of sacrificing (*adhvara*). He was therefore called *Adhvaryu*,

and the recitation of praises became the Hotri's chief duty.¹ Although the ritual was now divided into three strands, there were no distinct orders of priests corresponding to these divisions. Each officiant was merely called *Hotri*, *Udgātri*, or *Adhvaryu*, for the time being, according to the duty he undertook at the sacrifice.²

§ 8 Men believed that the sacrifices were mighty to influence the gods and bring down gifts from them. Therefore every chieftain and noble among the Aryans was eager to secure the help of a skilled priest, and was glad to pay him handsomely for services which brought victory and wealth from the gods. Hence we find existing among the people a number of priestly families of high standing and influence. The priest taught his sons the precious secret lore which enabled him by conducting sacrifices in the right way to win the favour of the gods for his patrons. It was in these priestly families that the composition of hymns to the gods was practised. Each priest did his utmost to produce as beautiful a hymn as possible, in order to please and move the divinity for whom the sacrifice was held. Then the priest taught his sons the best hymns he had composed; so that in each family there arose a body of hymns which were greatly treasured, and were orally transmitted from father to son, along with the directions for the work of the altar.

Naturally, the priestly families competed for the patronage of the greatest chieftains and the wealthiest nobles, and in the struggle found the quality of their hymns a matter of vital importance. We must therefore picture to ourselves a time of eager poetic emulation, during which metres, stanzas, and refrains were gradually perfected and polished. A very dignified and expressive literary dialect was thus gradually evolved. This dialect is closely related, it is true, to the common vernacular, yet it employs stately words and phrases

¹ Haug, *AB.* I. 17.

² Muir, *OS.* V. 350, with a reference to a passage in Yāska; Hillebrandt, *RL.* 13.

which would rise to the lips only in moments of exaltation and here and there uses well-known and effective archaisms. Thus there arose the first literary dialect of India. As time went on, the influence of the priests tended to increase. The ritual became steadily more complex, and the need of skilled sacerdotal help more pressing. Naturally, hymns were written for the various festivals, anniversaries, and sacrifices. The literature thus tended to become more artificial. The hymn prepared for a special sacrifice, and written so as to fit into its chief incidents or features, would be more appropriate, but probably less inspired than a hymn arising from a spontaneous outburst of religious feeling.

How the father taught his sons the family heritage of technical lore and hymns we do not know. Each experienced priest probably conducted a sort of rudimentary school for the benefit of his sons and nephews, in which he taught them orally all the hymns and priestly lore traditional in the family.¹

§ 9. The *Rigveda*² preserves seven groups of hymns which belonged to as many families. Each of these bears the name of a patriarch,³ and to him in each case most of the hymns in the family collection are ascribed. As authors of hymns these patriarchs are called *Rishis*, seers. The names of the eponym *Rishis* of the seven families are. Gṛtsamada, Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja, Vasishtha, Kanva. There were other families which possessed hymns, but, clearly, these seven were the most famous of all. It seems certain that these family collections grew up gradually and that many singers contributed to each collection; for each family was as it were a distinct school of poetry.

But a moment came when, by some means or other, the hymn-collections belonging to the six families named first

¹ See *RV.* VII. 103.

² For the growth of the *Rig* see Macdonell, 40 ff.

³ That is, is spoken of as the Atri book, the Vasishtha book, &c., because the name in each case occurs in many of the hymns of the book as the name of the seer or of the family of which he is the spokesman.

above were all taught together in a single school. Each collection was still kept distinct, but the collections were taught in order, the one after the other, to the same pupils, instead of being each retained and handed down in a single family. There was thus formed the body of poetry now contained in Books II-VII of the *Rigveda*. How this unification was effected we do not know. The emergence of a very powerful chieftain, determined at all costs to have the whole of the best poetry at the command of his own chief priest, would account for it, and as the Brahmanic culture first took definite shape in the holy land of Kurukshetra, the land of the Kurus, the modern Sirhind, one is tempted to think that it was some vigorous Kuru prince who commanded that the hymns of the six families should all be taught together, but there is no distinct evidence.

When brought together in the school, the six collections seem to have been taught in ascending order, each succeeding collection containing more hymns than its predecessor but later interpolations, by increasing the number of the hymns irregularly, have somewhat disturbed the arrangement. The hymns in each of the six collections are in the main arranged according to a common method. They are distributed in groups according to the gods they are addressed to, and within each of these groups they are arranged in descending order according to the number of stanzas each contains.

§ 10. Later, a large number of hymns disposed in nine groups was introduced into the school. Each group was believed to be the work of one poet¹ or family, all the nine being quite distinct from the six already mentioned. These hymns were given the first place in the whole body of literature belonging to the school, being taught before the six original collections. They now form the latter half of Book I of the *Rigveda*, beginning with the fifty-first hymn. The whole collection now amounted to Ib + II-VII.

¹ The names are Saṃyā, Nodhas, Parāśara, Gotama, Kutsa, Kakshivān, Uruclhepa, Dirghatamas, Agastya.

Still later two further additions were made to the hymn material of the school. As these two collections each contain a large number of hymns from the last of the seven famous families mentioned above,¹ the family of Kanva, and have also a number of common features, it is likely that they had a common origin, and were introduced to the great school at the same time. One group was prefixed to the old material, the other affixed. So that the body of sacred poetry now stood thus Ia + Ib + II-VII + VIII.

Then the ninth book came into existence. It consists exclusively of Soma hymns dedicated to Soma Pavamāna, 'clearly-flowing Soma'. Hymns which belonged to each of the seven great families represented in Books II-VIII are gathered together here. This collection is thus a sort of preliminary *Sāmaveda*. Though collected later than the hymns of Books I-VIII, the hymns of Book IX are perhaps as early as any in the whole collection.

It is probable that by this time the whole body of hymns of praise (*richas*), regarded by the priests as precious knowledge (*veda*), was called *Rigveda*.

We now attempt to understand in outline the religion reflected in Books I-IX of the *Rik*.

§ 11. The following are the names of most of the noticeable gods of the Aryans, disposed as the people were accustomed to arrange them, in three categories, according as their function was exercised upon earth, in the region of the air, or in the heaven of light.

Lower gods : Agni, Soma.

Middle gods : Indra, Maruts, Rudra, Parjanya, Vayu, the R̥bhus.

Upper gods : Vishnu, Sūrya, Savitri, Pūshan, the Aśvins,

Ushas, Aditi and her three sons, Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman. But these three lists are not exhaustive. Several other divinities are named, waters, rivers, and mountains are recognized as divine, and tools and implements, especially the sacrificial

implements, receive adoration and are expected to hear and answer prayer.

Indra is the most prominent god in the *Rigveda*; for more than one fourth of the hymns are dedicated to him. He is primarily the regent of the sky. Young and strong, brilliant as the sun, ruddy and golden, he comes riding in his fair-shining car to the sacrifice, eats the flesh of bulls and buffaloes, drinks vast quantities of soma, and listens to the hymns recited and chanted in his honour. These stimulate his vital energies and rouse him to his utmost courage. He then assails with thunderbolt and lightning-flash the malevolent demons who keep the rain locked up and swiftly defeats them. The cloud castles are stormed, and the waters, set free, rush down in fierce torrents on the earth. Naturally this heavenly warrior became the national god of the Aryan invaders. He is praised as the monarch of heaven and earth, the controller of the destinies of men, and the friend and helper of those who offer him sacrifice.

Agni and Soma, who come next after Indra in prominence in the *Rigveda*, are also native divinities, the one Fire, the other the intoxicating drink made from the soma-plant; but they both owe their great position to their connexion with the ritual. The two chief forms of sacrificing were the offering of milk, butter, grain, and flesh in the altar-fire, and the setting out of great bowls of soma on the sacred grass for the gods to drink. Since through the fire the offerings are presented to the gods, Agni is the great priest of the gods. Soma lives in the divine plant of that name which is the drink of the gods in heaven, and which, transplanted to earth, exhilarates man and delights all the gods at the sacrifices. Both gods are spoken of as doing the work of creator and upholder of the universe. The hymns of the ninth book were sung at the sacrifices in honour of Soma.

Varuna is the noblest figure in the *Rigveda*. He is connected with the day-sky, the night-sky, and the waters. But he has lofty cosmical functions as well. He upholds heaven

and earth, and he is the supporter of all beings. He wield all the powers of *ṛita*, i.e. divine law, both physical and moral, therefore his ordinances are fixed and can never be shaken. All natural things are subject to them, and he watches to see whether men obey his lofty laws. He rewards the righteous, punishes the wrongdoer (frequently with dropsy), and releases the sinner from his sin when he comes with prayer and oblation. He is the wise guardian of immortality.

But the most significant trait in his character is this, that he is always righteous. We have already seen that Varuna is the Vedic counterpart of Ahura Mazda of the religion of Zoroaster. He must have been a god of distinctly ethical character in the period before the Indo-Iranian people fell apart, and in his prominence in the *Rigveda* and in the lofty attributes which he wears we must see evidence of an Indian development parallel to Zoroaster's selection of Mazda to be the one god of his high ethical monotheism. It begins to look as if the two movements may have been roughly contemporaneous, for scholars are more and more inclined to assign to Zoroaster a date about 1000 B.C. rather than the traditional date of 600 B.C.¹ But Varuna failed to reach supremacy, the warrior Indra became the leading divinity of the *Rigveda*, and Indra failed to develop an ethical theism.

The religion of the *Rigveda* is probably the most interesting polytheism reflected in any literature. It certainly has not the grace and charm of the pantheon of the Homeric poems; but it stands nearer the origin of the gods, and enables us to see them at the most significant stage of their evolution. All the great, and nearly all the minor gods, are deified natural phenomena, and the interest of the presentation springs from the fact that they are still identified with those glorious things and yet are distinguished from them. They are still thought of as being actually dawn, sun, moon, sky, rain, wind, thunder, fire, men actually offer sacrifice to the

¹ Moulton, *T.M.* 6. 13; Oldenberg, *LU* 4

reddening dawn, to the sun as he mounts the heavens, and to the crackling fire on the hearth; yet each god is conceived as a glorious living being who has his home in heaven, and who comes sailing in his far-shining car to the sacrifice and sits down on the sacred grass to hear his own praises recited and sung and to receive the offerings. Further, each divinity is held to have influence on things far beyond that phase of the physical world which is his source. He is believed to be able to give his worshippers blessings of many kinds, victory, prosperity, cattle, wealth, children. The greatest gods are connected with the creation and upholding of the world, and Varuna holds in his hands all divine law, both physical and moral. This ambiguous position then—each glittering god still struggling to release his gorgeous wings from the clinging chrysalis of his natural source—gives them then peculiar charm and interest, and shows us mythology in the making, but it also prevents the development of distinct personality in the gods and makes them natural rather than moral beings.

Though there is much superstition in the *Rigveda*, and even the great gods, with the exception of Varuna, are not beings of holy character, yet the black arts are held in check, and human sacrifices, cruel rites, eroticism, and other horrors are noticeably absent. The religion is, on the whole, a healthy, happy system. Neither asceticism nor austerity, neither pessimism nor philosophy, disturbs the sunshine of that early day.

§ 12. The worship reflected in the hymns circles round the great sacrifices, which are to be carefully distinguished from the simple oblations which each householder offered in the household fire daily. The great sacrifices were not public acts of worship attended by all the people, like the sacrifices of Israel, of Greece, or of Rome.

A chieftain, a noble, or any other wealthy man simply employed the necessary priests and had the rites carried out for himself. A sacrifice held by a chieftain would have a sort of public significance, if it was intended to secure prosperity

for his rule or victory in war, yet, even in that case, it was a personal act, and benefited, in the first instance, the sacrificer and his family alone.

The sacrifices were held in the open air or in a shed erected for the purpose near the house of the sacrificer. No temples or sacred places existed in those days. The word *vedi*, i.e. altar, seems to denote in the *Rigveda* the area on which the rite was carried out. It was strewn with sacred grass, that the gods might come and sit down on it. Upon the *vedi* the oblations were laid out, and there also were the sacred fires prepared. The chief oblations were milk, melted butter, grain, and cakes. The Adhvaryu shed them on the fire and muttered his formulae the while. At certain points in the ceremonies the Hotri recited hymns.

In the Soma-sacrifice the priests brought the twigs of the soma plant, expressed the juice with the press-stones, purified it, mixed it with milk, and then poured it into basins and set it out on the altar for the gods to drink. The soma-hymns were sung by the Udgātri while the Adhvaryu was busy with these ritual acts. The sacrificer, being by the rites admitted to the company of the gods, then drank of the divine beverage, and was thereby made a new man.¹ The priest also drank of the soma.

Animal sacrifice—the goat, the ox, the cow, the ram, or the horse—accompanied both the fire-oblations and the soma-rites. The animals were killed and cut up according to rule, and pieces were laid out on the altar, while certain parts were burned in the fire. The horse-sacrifice had already a highly developed ritual, several hymns specially composed for it being found in the *Rik*.² The flesh was divided between the sacrificer and the priests.

Without the help of skilled priests, these great sacrifices were quite impossible. Hence an advanced sacerdotal training already existed, and is alluded to in the hymns. By the time the nine books of the *Rik* were gathered, the priests

¹ Haug, *AB.* I. 60

² I. 162, 163, IV 38, 39, 40

formed a distinct profession, though they had not yet developed into a caste.

§ 13. The boons which the worshippers ask for are in most cases material blessings, prosperity, wealth, cattle, rich crops, chariots, wives, children, health, long life, protection from danger, victory in war, and rich spoil. Yet not infrequently immortality is prayed for. There are also numerous prayers for release from sin and its consequences. Usually sacrifice, a hymn, or faithful worship, is made the ground for the gift of pardon and health, but once or twice something approaching real penitence appears. Yet the overwhelming impression made by the *Rigveda* is that the spirit of religion is worldly and indeed tends to be mercenary.

§ 14. There are many passages in which the highest cosmical and divine functions are attributed to Indra, or Agni, or Soma, or some other god. How was it possible to attribute these lofty powers now to one god, now to another? To describe this post-Aryan mind Max Müller coined the word Henotheism, the elevation to supremacy of one god at a time. While the poet invokes the god, he is to him the only possible Supreme, and he does not stint his praises by any thought of another; yet the following day he may ascribe the same lofty powers to a second divinity. To this may be added the thought that, monotheism being the only fully rational faith, the human mind, in proportion to its purity, reverence, and openness, is unconsciously drawn towards it. But we must also recognize that the gods of the *Rigveda* do not stand out in clear individuality and distinctness the one from the other. They are personifications of nature, lack character, and tend to melt into one another.

ii. *Rik*, X; *Sāman*, *Early Yajus*

§ 15. There followed a considerable interval of time during which these nine books were used as the hymn-book of the tribes. The life of the people was expanding, and they were extending their hold on the country. They had now reached

the upper waters of the Jumna, and the fertile band of country between the Jumna and the Ganges was being occupied farther and farther south. Many of the better aboriginal tribes had been brought into friendly relations with the Aryans, and were settling down beside them to serve as labourers or as household servants. These accepted aborigines were called Śūdras. The position of the priests was steadily becoming more prominent and assured. In consequence, social distinctions were becoming deeper and more marked. The priests were more and more unwilling to intermarry with the other classes, and the Aryan community as a whole wished to avoid mixture with aboriginals, both those accepted as Śūdras and those excluded as Outcastes.

The power of the priests over the gods was more and more recognized, their services more highly appreciated. Hence they were now frequently asked to assist in marriage and funeral ceremonies, which in earlier days were conducted entirely by the house-father himself, and to perform certain magic rites for individuals, both men and women. Religious unrest was producing philosophical speculation and also a tendency to the practice of austerities. Naturally this varied and growing activity led to the composition of new hymns. Many of them were meant for the old sacrifices, others for use at weddings, funerals, and the feast in commemoration of the fathers, some dealt with those religious and philosophical questions which were beginning to trouble the advancing community, and others were composed for use as incantations in sorcery and magic.

§ 16 Finally, some scholars gathered together a very varied collection of 191 pieces, and it was introduced into the schools and taught as the last section of the oral curriculum of hymns. There were now ten groups of hymns, the ten books of the *Rigveda*. As the first book also contains 191 hymns, the whole became a noble series of ten collections, the first and the last balancing each other in the number of their hymns. There can be no doubt that the hymns of the tenth

book belong to several different periods. Some of them are quite old, most are clearly subsequent to the hymns of the first nine books, and a few are very late indeed. The ninetieth hymn, usually called the Hymn of Creation, contains a number of developed philosophical concepts, refers to the Caste system, and mentions the names of at least three of the Vedas. Thus we must recognize that, when the collection was completed, the *Śāma-veda* and the *Yajur-veda* were already in existence, at least in some primitive form, and that the Caste system was at least taking shape.

§ 17. The interpretation of the *Rig-veda* is not yet scientifically certain in all respects. No ancient commentary on the whole work has come down to us, though there are manuals dealing with certain groups of phenomena, which date from 500 B.C. or earlier. The earliest commentary preserved on the text as a whole was written in the fourteenth century, by the great scholar Sayana. Thus there need be no surprise if there are many passages in the hymns which are still incomprehensible.

The age of the *Rig-veda* is still very uncertain. Max Müller in his *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, published in 1859, suggested 1200 to 1000 B.C. as the lowest limits that could be postulated for the composition of the Vedic hymns, and 1000 to 800 B.C. for the formation of the collections. Others are inclined to believe that longer time is required for the development, while a few are convinced that the hymns imply the lapse of thousands of years. Scholars seem to incline towards Müller's dates rather than to these extreme figures¹.

§ 18. With the increasing elaboration of the sacrifices, and the consequent emergence of many new duties for the priests, division of labour became unavoidable. It proved more and more necessary that a man should restrict himself to the functions of a *Hotrī*, an *Udgātṛ*, or an *Adhvaryu*, instead of

¹ Müller, *ASL.* 572; Macdonell, 11-12. Winternitz, I 246 ff; Thibaut, *Hindustan Review*, Jan. 1904; Jacobi, *JRAS.* 1909, 721; Oldenberg, *JRIS.* 1909, 1095; Keth, *TS.* I. cxvi; *JRAS.* 1909, 1100.

attempting to become proficient in all three. Hence the need for a distinct education for each type of priest made itself felt. Perhaps in the formation of the ninth book of the *Āṛkha*, which consists exclusively of Soma-hymns, we may trace the beginnings of the movement. But a time came when something more was required.

In the case of the man who sang the strophes at the Soma-sacrifice, the Udgātri, two forms of training were required. He had to learn to sing, readily and accurately, all the tunes that were used in the many distinct Soma-sacrifices, and he had also to know which strophes were required for each sacrifice and in what order they were sung. Therefore, that the young priest might master all the tunes thoroughly and have any one at command at any moment, each was connected with a single stanza of the right metre, and the teacher made his pupils sing it over and over again, until tune and stanza were firmly imprinted, in indissoluble association, in the memory. In the Kauthuma school at least, the Udgātri student was taught 585 tunes, married to as many single verses. The whole collection of stanzas was called the *Ārchika*, i.e. the book of praises. For mnemonic reasons, the stanzas are arranged in several large groups according to the deities to whom they are dedicated, and the groups are subdivided into sets of ten. Then the strophes used in the ritual of the Soma-sacrifice were arranged in the order in which they were sung, and were taught to Udgātri students in this form instead of the *Rigveda*. The practical value of this step will be at once apparent. The young priest, in committing the strophes to memory, learnt also at which sacrifices and at what point in each sacrifice they were used. There are 400 strophes in the collection, the great majority consisting of three stanzas each, the whole comprising 1,225 stanzas. This collection was called the *Uttarārchika*, or second praise-book. All the stanzas contained in the two *Ārchikas*, with the exception of seventy-five, are taken from the *Rigveda*, so that, from the point of view of the hymns, these books are of little interest in comparison with

the *Rik*. These two, the musical collection and the sacrificial liturgy, were taught in special schools, and, since the knowledge, *veda*, which they taught was the songs or chants, *sāman*, required for the sacrifice, it was called the *Sāmaveda*, and the schools were called schools of the *Samaveda*. In those early days the music, as well as the stanzas, was taught orally, but, at a considerably later date, when writing began to be used in the schools for various purposes, tune-books, called *gānas*, were prepared. In these the tunes were indicated by a system of musical notes, and the words of the hymns were set down precisely as they were sung, with many vowels prolonged, many syllables repeated, and other extra-textual syllables interpolated at various places. These interpolated syllables, called *stobhas*, praises: e.g. *hūn, hīn, har, han, hoyi, hurva, hor*, &c. — are the exact counterpart of the *jubila* interpolated in Plain-song in the ninth and tenth centuries¹. There were two *gānas* connected with the *Arhika*, one *Grāmageyagāna*, for use in the village, the other *Aranyagāna*, for use in the case of those texts which, for one reason or another, were held so sacred as to be sung only in the seclusion of the forest.

§ 19. From the earliest days it had been customary for the sacrificer, the Hotri, to accompany each ritual-act of the sacrifice with some short phrase, either to indicate its significance, its purpose, or the god for whom it was meant, or to invoke some blessing with it, or to prevent the act from having a dangerous result. The priest muttered these phrases, taking care that he should not be overheard. They were of the nature of incantations and dedications rather than prayer and praise. When the recitation of hymns of praise became the chief duty of the Hotri priest, and the working-priest, the Adhvaryu, was appointed to do the manual acts, the latter naturally took over also the duty of muttering these ritual formulae: the name is *yajus*, plural *yajūṁsi*. Rather later still, it became customary for the Adhvaryu to utter, at certain points in the ritual, in addition to the old formulae,

¹ Fox Strangways, *Music of Hindustan*, 255.

praises and prayers consisting of stanzas taken from hymns of the *Rigveda* or from other sources.

Probably about the time when the schools of the *Sāmaveda* came into existence, or rather later, the training of the Adhvaryu took a fixed traditional form in special schools conducted for the purpose. The essential part of the tradition was the body of ritual formulae in prose and the prayers in verse which accompanied the ritual acts, but detailed instruction, in one form or another, must have been also given about the ritual acts themselves. The mass of material having for its nucleus the formulae, *yajñīśu*, which accompanied the ritual, gave the Adhvaryu the knowledge, *veda*, necessary for his work, and was therefore called *Yajurveda*.

§ 20. The formation of these special schools for Udgātās and Adhvaryus necessarily led to the old schools of the *Rigveda* becoming special training-schools for the Hotri priests. We must also conclude that, from the time of the rise of these new schools, there were three distinct orders of priests, but there was no rule precluding a priest from exercising the functions of two, or even of all the three orders, provided he had acquired the necessary training. The mass of men, however, would be content with the curriculum of a single school. By this time the priests had become a closed caste and called themselves Brāhmans. Each Brāhman priest received his education in one of the three types of schools and was known thereafter as a member of the school.

§ 21. In our first survey we dealt with the first nine books of the *Rik*; so that the fresh literature which we now examine is the tenth book of the *Rik*, the *Sāman* and the original *Yajurveda*. For practical purposes we may take Books I–XVIII of the *White Yajus* as representing, with fair accuracy, the extent of the original work. Since nearly the whole text of the *Sāmaveda* is taken unchanged from the *Rik*, it is not of so much importance as the other two sources. The most prominent features of the new situation are these: the community is now sharply divided into four groups by caste

distinctions—Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vais̥yas, Śūdras, and there are three orders of priests, each possessing a Veda taught in schools belonging to the order. The religion reflected in the literature is wider and more varied than it appeared in the glimpse we had in the *R̥g̥*, I-IX. The prose formulae muttered by the Adhvaryu in accompaniment to the ritual acts are clearly a very old constituent of the cult, older indeed, than the hymns; but the actual formulae contained in the *Yajur veda* are probably of very varied age—some may be very old, others quite new; so that we must be cautious about attributing the whole to very early times. But, although the individual phrases are of indeterminate age, the fundamental thought involved in them, especially the magic character of the whole system, is clearly old. With this agrees the magic power attributed to the tunes sung by the Udgāt̥ri priests, and to the metres of the hymns. Hence the presence in the tenth book of the *R̥g̥ veda* of a considerable number of incantations for use in private magic rites probably does not indicate any new access of faith in these operations, but merely an increased willingness on the part of priests trained in the schools to officiate in these ceremonies. The priests are more prominent than ever; for they are now an organized body, the chief of the four castes, and are believed to wield almost limitless supernatural power. The pantheon has not changed materially in the interval, but priestly authority and magical conceptions seem to be gradually weakening the position of the gods, and there is evidence of the existence of considerable religious unrest and scepticism and of various efforts made to cope with it.

The gods and their attributes appear in our source in all essentials the same as they do in the first nine books of the *R̥g̥ veda*, yet certain changes are visible. A few new gods make their appearance, some divinities, notably *Uś̥as*, *Varuṇa*, and *Pṛajanya*, receive less attention than formerly, while others have risen to new prominence. Of these the most noteworthy are *Viś̥ṇu* and *Rudra*, who have already begun

that mysterious upward movement, which gradually raised them above all their Vedic compeers, and made them the two supreme divinities of modern Hinduism. So far as our evidence goes, it would seem as if Vishnu owed his first elevation to his being identified with the sacrifice by the Adhvaryu priests. In that sense his name occurs in hundreds of passages in the *Yajur-veda*. One of the more prominent elements of the same work is the *Śatarudrīya* a famous hymn of praise to Rudra, which is decisive evidence of his growing importance.

§ 22. The existence of the three Vedas enables us to get a more vivid idea of the sacrifices which formed almost the whole cult of the gods. The great sacrifices were either obligatory or voluntary. Of the obligatory rites the most noteworthy were the New Moon and the Full Moon sacrifices and the sacrifice to Ancestors observed every month, and a few similar observances which occurred less often. Of the voluntary ceremonies the most elaborate and expensive were the Soma-sacrifices. The *Aśvamedha* or Horse-sacrifice was meant to secure all blessings for a prince, including even imperial sway. Another type of ceremony, which any wealthy man might undertake, was the *Agnichayana*, or the building of a fire altar of great elaboration of design.

§ 23. There are a number of hymns in the tenth book of the *Rik*, which seem to have been taught in the schools with a view to being used in the contests of wit which closed the sacrifices. There are two collections of riddles, and about a dozen dialogues; but the largest and most interesting group are speculative pieces springing from the new religious situation. One is a hymn in praise of faith, one describes the ascetic, and another deals with *tapas* or self-mortification, while the remainder, eleven in number, form the fountain-head of Indian philosophy. In our first survey we learned that priests trained in the schools had begun to practise private magic and to use certain hymns contained in the *Rigveda* as spells. By the time the tenth book was compiled

things had gone farther. a large number of incantations are included in it.

There is no hint of the doctrine of transmigration in our sources. Men live and die once. They pray that they may live a hundred autumns. When good men die, Yama guides them to his heavenly home and there they live in immortality and joy. They are then called the Fathers.

iii. *Brāhmaṇas, Atharvan, Āyanyakas*

§ 24. We have already seen that a number of spells for use in magic are contained in the *Rik*. The character of these poems proves that the old-world incantations which the Aīryans, in common with other Indo-European peoples, had been accustomed to use had, in the main at least, given way before a new type of spell, written in polished language and metre, on the model of the hymns to the gods. Doubtless, hundreds of these were being used by sorcerers, exorcists, and magicians, although only a few found their way into the hymn-book of the priests; and the process of composition continued after the canon of the *Rigveda* was closed. The incantation-priest had no lack of wealthy clients ready to pay well for his magic arts and poetical charms instinct with supernatural power. Hence numerous hymns from the *Rigveda* were turned to these purposes; philosophic poems were perverted to more mysterious uses, their sounding phrases and incomprehensible concepts rendering them most formidable to the ear, and many new incantations were composed to fit into the detailed ritual of magic, both black and white. The man of muttered charms was usually summoned also to do the priestly duties in the domestic ceremonies, which were observed at the time of birth, marriage, death, and such like.

§ 25. Then, during the period of the *Brāhmaṇas*, a school was formed for the training of this class of priests, and quite naturally a great collection of these incantations was made the text-book of the school. This text-book is the *Atharva-veda*. It has come down to us in two recensions, named

Saunakīya and *Paippalāda* The former is the text in ordinary use, and it alone has been edited, translated, and examined in detail. A single birch-bark manuscript of the *Paippalāda* was found in Kashmīr in 1874, and a facsimile reproduction has been published. There is a good deal of difference between the two recensions in the way in which the hymns are arranged; and about one-eighth or one-ninth of the contents of the *Paippalāda* MS. is fresh material, found neither in the *Śaunakīya* recension nor in any other Vedic collection. Since so little investigation has been carried out on the new text, we shall confine our attention to the *Saunakīya* or Vulgate.

It is probable that the *Atharvaveda* was built up to its present proportions in various stages, but we do not know the history. Each of the two recensions consists of twenty books, but the order by no means corresponds. In the Vulgate it is clear that Books XIX and XX are late additions. Books I to XVIII fall into three divisions. The first covers Books I to VII, and consists in the main of short hymns, arranged in accordance with the number of stanzas they contain, and without reference to their subject-matter. The second contains Books VIII to XII and consists of long hymns on miscellaneous subjects. In the third division, Books XIII to XVIII, each book consists of hymns which are marked by essential unity of subject. Various attempts have been made to decide how these three groups were brought together, but no unanimity has yet been reached.

Scholars point out that a number of the shorter spells of the *Atharvaveda* agree in purpose and method, and to some extent also in form, with charms found in the folk-lore of other nations of the Indo-European race, so that the roots of the practices of this Veda go very far back indeed. About 1,200 of the 6,000 stanzas contained in the work are taken from the *Rigveda*. But the bulk of the fresh material is of later origin¹. Part of it is in prose, the rest in verse. The

¹ So Oldenberg, *RV* 15. Keith agrees.

compilation of the eighteen books took place long after the completion of the *Rigveda*, during the period of the *Brāhmanas*.

For a long time the Atharvan collection held a very humble position as compared with the three sacrificial Vedas. It was not accepted as a Veda at all. The *trayīvidyā*, triple knowledge, was all that men recognized. To this day in certain parts of South India it is almost unknown.

§ 26 The priestly schools soon became great and learned associations each with a splendid reputation. The student had first of all to learn the Veda of his school with perfect accuracy from the lips of his teacher. He had then, in the second place, to receive a great deal of instruction as to his duties at the altar, and numerous explanations of the meaning of the hymns, the ritual acts, and such like. The instructions were called *vidhā*, the explanations *arthavāda*. For some time these lectures were given by the teacher in an unfettered way in his own language, but gradually in each school the material took more definite form, and finally was handed down in stereotyped language from teacher to pupil, generation after generation. Naturally, it was in prose. Every piece of instruction of this type was called a *Brāhmaṇa*, either as being the utterance of a *Brāhman*, or as an exposition of religious truth (*brahman*). In contrast with these *Brāhmanas*, the hymns and prose formulæ which were recited, sung, or muttered during the sacrifices were called *mantras*. The word *mantra* means originally religious thought, prayer, sacred utterance, but from an early date it also implied that the text was a weapon of supernatural power.

Since these *Brāhmaṇa* lectures were expositions of the sacrifice, the hymns, and the prayers, the teachers of the *Yajurveda* took the very natural course of inserting them at various points among the material on which they were meant to throw light. In the schools of the *Rik* and the *Sāman*, however, this course was not followed. The teachers were probably so impressed with the divine character of the hymn-

collections that they felt they could not disturb the sacred arrangement of the text. In any case in both these schools the expository lectures were gathered into a separate collection, which was called *Brāhmana*.

Then the teachers of the Vājasaneyā school of the *Yajurveda* were led by this example to a similar course. They separated out all the *Brāhmana* sections from the sacrificial formulae and the verses of their Veda, and formed a Veda and a *Brāhmana* out of them. In this way the schools of the *Yajurveda* fell into two groups, and the old mixed collection of mantras and *Brāhmanas* was called the *Black Yajus*, while the new unmingled collection of hymns with its separate *Brāhmana* was called the *White Yajus*. As the *Brāhmana* material in each school was constantly growing, the Veda as handed down in the various schools of the *Black Yajus* soon showed considerable differences. It has come down to us in four distinct forms called *Samhitās*. See table below.

At a later date one of these schools of the *Black Yajus* the Taittirīyas, followed the common practice thus far that, on the formation of a fresh body of *Brāhmana* material, they did not introduce it into the already mixed Veda, but formed it into a separate *Brāhmana*. This new book is really a continuation of the *Brāhmana* material within the *Samhitā* of the school.

The continued branching of the schools, and the constant addition of fresh *Brāhmana* material to the old, must have led in the long run to the existence of a very large number of *Brāhmanas*, differing more or less from one another. In the chances and changes of history, much of this literature has been lost. Thus, what survives to-day is but a small part of what once existed. The following table shows the various *Samhitās* of the *Yajurveda* which contain *Brāhmana* material, and also the ancient *Brāhmanas*.

SĀMĪTĀS AND BRĀHMANAS

<i>Schools</i>	<i>Sāmitās containing Brāhmaṇa material.</i>	<i>Brāhmaṇas</i>
A. R̥gveda		
1. The Aitareyins		1. <i>Aitareya</i>
2. The Kaushitakins		2. <i>Kaushītaki</i> or <i>Śāṅk- lūyana</i>
B. Sāmaveda		
1. The Tāpkins		1. <i>a Pāṇcharvīṣa</i> <i>b Shadrūṣa</i> <i>c Chhāndogya</i>
2. The Talavakāras		2. <i>Jaiminiya</i> or <i>Tala- vakāra</i> (including <i>Upanishad B.</i> and <i>Arsheya B.</i>)
C. Yajurveda		
1. The Kathaks	1. <i>Kāthaka</i>	1. <i>Kāthaka</i> , preserved in part in the <i>Taittiriya</i> <i>Aranyaka</i>
2. The Kapishthalas- Kāthas	2. <i>Kapishthala-Katha</i>	
3. The Mutrayanyis	3. <i>Mutrayany</i>	
4. The Taittiriyas	4. <i>Taittiriya</i>	4. <i>Taittiriya</i>
5. The Vajrasaneyins		5. <i>Satapatha</i>

§ 27. One's first reading of a Brāhmaṇa is an extraordinary experience. It seems as if the men who composed these interminable gossiping lectures had left realities far behind them, and were living in a dreary realm of shadowy gods and men and topsy-turvy morality and religion, in which nothing belongs to the world we know except the sacrificial meats and dunks and the fees paid to the priestly dreamers. Yet in the midst of this waste of arid ritualism and childish speculation one finds the beginnings of grammar, of astronomy, of etymology, and of the philosophy of the *Ātman*. There are also legends and narratives which are forerunners of the Epic, and numerous rules of conduct out of which finally arose the Hindu *dharma*. The Indian mind was by no means dead, although sacerdotalism was drunk with supremacy and in its folly and arrogance was hastening the day of revolt.

§ 28. In addition to the Brāhmaṇa portions of the *Black*

Yajurveda, only the following six Brāhmanas are ritual text-books of importance. *Āitareya*, *Kaushītaki*, *Pañchavimśa*, *Talavakāra*, *Taittirīya*, *Śatapatha*. The *Shāḍvimsā* is an appendix to the *Pañchavimśa*, and the *Chhāndogya* deals only with domestic rites. It is impossible to set down this mass of material in strict chronological order, because each Brāhmana is a collection of pieces of different age and origin, yet, if we omit the *Kaṣīkhalā-Katha Samhitā* and the *Kāthaka B.*, which have survived only in fragments, the following represents, on the whole, the order in which these books arose. 1. The *Maitrāyaṇī*, *Kāthaka*, and *Taittirīya* Samhitās, which cannot be safely arranged in any chronological order, 2. the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*; 3. the *Pañchavimśa*, 4. the *Taittirīya*, 5. the *Jaiminīya*, 6. the *Kaushītaki*, 7. the *Śatapatha*.

§ 20. To the Brāhmanas there are appended chapters, written in the main in Brāhmaṇa language and style, but differing somewhat in contents. Usually these chapters begin with material scarcely distinguishable from the Brāhmana itself, but gradually shade off through mystic allegory into philosophic speculation. Usually the ritualistic and allegorical parts are called *Āraṇyaka*, and the philosophic, *Upanishad*, but sometimes the whole receives the title *Upanishad*. The Upanishads will be dealt with in our next chapter, for in them first appears the mighty doctrine of transmigration and karma, but we consider the *Āraṇyakas* here. Parts of these 'Forest-treatises' (from *araṇya*, forest) describe the ritual and give incidental mystic explanations, and are thus indistinguishable from Brāhmana teaching, except that here and there we meet chapters which add stringent rules to the effect that the rites are to be kept secret and carried out only for certain persons. Similar secrecy is sometimes enjoined in the Upanishads. Side by side with these are found chapters which are exclusively given up to allegorical expositions of the ritual, and are clearly meant not for ritual use but for meditation. Finally there are passages which teach the student to practise meditation on the allegorical meaning of certain sacrifices instead of

the actual performance of the ritual. In none of these ritualistic or allegorical chapters is the doctrine of transmigration and karma taught.

§ 30. All scholars agree that the Āraṇyakas were meant to be studied in the forest.¹ But who were the men who studied them? During the time when the Brāhmanas were coming into being, an order of hermits who resided in the forests of India appeared. They gave up all the business of the world and devoted themselves to a religious life. Their practice in general had three aspects, *tapas* i.e. austerities, sacrifice, and meditation, but there was more than one rule, so that practice varied considerably. In some cases sacrifice was given up altogether, and the great and elaborate sacrifices must have been always impossible. These facts about the order are taken from the Dharmasūtras.² Very vivid pictures of the life occur in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,³ agreeing perfectly with what has just been said. When a student had completed his education, he was allowed either to remain with his teacher for life, or to marry and settle down as a householder, or to retire to the woods as a hermit.⁴ The earliest name used to designate a hermit seems to have been *Vaikhāṇasa*⁵ (from Vīkhanas, the traditional author of the rule), but later *Vānaprastha*, forest-dweller, came into use. It was at a much later date that there came into use the ideal rule for the life of the twice-born man, that his life should be lived in four stages, *āśramas* as a student, householder, hermit, and monk.⁶

Now Sāyana makes a remark which seems to mean that the Āraṇyaka was the Brāhmaṇa of the hermit,⁷ and certain modern scholars, especially Deussen, have accepted that view. The varied character of the contents of the Āraṇyakas—ritual,

¹ The ancient evidence is conclusive. See Rāmānuja, *Śrībhāṣya*, *SBE* XLVIII 645, and Sāyana quoted by Keith in his *Āitareya Ār* 15.

² Gautama, *SBE* II 195, Vāsishtā, *SBE* XIV 45; Baudhāyana, *SBE* XIV 259; 291; Āpastamba, *SBE* II 155.

³ See II. lvi, III 1; v, vi; vii; xi; xii. ⁴ *Chhāndogya* U. II 23, 1.

⁵ Gautama, *DS* III. 26. ⁶ Deussen, *FRH* II. 128 ff.

⁷ *Āraṇyakaśāstra* *brāhmaṇam* see Deussen, *PU* 2 n.; Keith *AA*. 15.

secret explanation, allegory, and internal instead of external sacrifice—fits perfectly into the varying practice of the hermits of the forest; so that one is tempted at first sight to conclude that these treatises were actually prepared for the Vānaprasthas. But Oldenberg¹ and Berriedale Keith² believe that the Āranyakas were held to be texts of such sacredness that they could with safety be repeated only in the seclusion of the forest. The *Āranyagāna* of the *Sāmaveda* would then be a parallel case. Professor Keith believes that the Āranyakas were taught to priests, just as the Brāhmanas were. The difference lay in the secrecy necessary for the forest treatises.

For our purpose, however, it is unnecessary to decide the question. We require merely to distinguish those chapters which separate themselves from the Brāhmanas by their stress on allegory, secrecy, and meditation, and from the philosophic Upanishads by the absence of the doctrine of transmigration, whatever their original purpose may have been. The chief texts are:

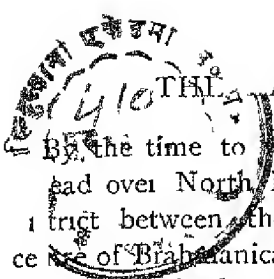
- Rigveda: { *Āitareya Āranyaka*
 { *Kaushītaki Āranyaka*
 Black Yajus: *Taittirīya Āranyaka*, I–VI.
 White Yajus: *Bṛihadāranyaka* = *Śatapatha B* XIV,
 i–iii

§ 31. The point at which we take our third survey is just before the appearance of the doctrine of transmigration and karma in the literature. The literature in existence at that time and surviving to our day comprises the four Vedas, the six old Brāhmanas, and the Āranyakas. Since we have already dealt with the *Rik*, the *Sāman*, and the early *Yajus* the literature which forms the source for this survey is

1. The later portions of the *Yajurveda*.
2. The *Atharvaveda*.
3. The six old Brāhmanas.
4. The Āranyakas

¹ *LU*. 148 ff.

² *AA*. 15, 257 n. 10.



By the time to which our survey refers the Aryans had spread over North India at least as far as Behar, but the strict boundary between the Jumna and the Ganges was still the centre of Brāhmanical culture. Probably all the books of our source arose in that region.¹ We cannot fix the date of our survey chronologically; for the estimates of scholars show considerable variation. At the time we seek to envisage there were already many petty princedoms in North India, containing numerous towns, and wealth and culture were growing. While the country between the Jumna and the Ganges was recognized as the central hearth of the religion and education of the time, there were seats of civilization in the Punjab, in the far North-West, and as far east as the modern Patna. Not only the four great castes but many of the modern mixed castes and sub-castes were already in existence. The Brāhmanical schools had greatly increased in number. Each Veda had its own multitude of schools, divided into subordinate groups according to the recension of the Veda they used, and further subdivided according to the Brāhmaṇa they recognized. At some quite unknown date, but certainly before the end of the period, the work of the Vedic schools had become widened, so as not only to provide a specialized training for priests but also to give a religious education to all boys of the Brāhman, Kṣhatṛiya, and Vaiśya castes. Every boy belonging to these castes went to school immediately after undergoing the ceremony of initiation. Since this ceremony thus became the entrance to a spiritual training, it was called the boy's second birth. Hence these three castes came to be spoken of as twice-born, and wore the sacred thread. Śūdras and women were excluded from the schools; and only Brāhmins could teach.

The priest and the sacrifice were now supreme and omnipotent, and in consequence the religion had become pitifully degraded. The sacrifice was conceived as a magic system irresistibly wielding all powers in earth and heaven, and the

¹ *Vedic Index*, I 165.

priests who held the system in their hands were regarded as gods on earth. Hence, though the gods nominally retain their old place, they have become of very little account, stripped of nearly all their real power by the priests and the sacrifice. Like the demons, they sacrifice, when they want to obtain anything. Viṣṇu, Rudra-Śiva, and Prajāpati alone are prominent, because of their relations with the new sacerdotalism. Magic is supreme everywhere, in the sacrifice, in the Atharvan rites in the home, and in the discipline of the Vānaprastha in the forest. Morality has almost altogether lost its hold in the cult. The result could not but be an unbearable inner dissatisfaction in the best men. Hence we find some eagerly pressing forward towards new light along philosophic lines, following the lead given by the poets of the speculative hymns mentioned in our second survey. Two concepts of great importance, the *Brahman* and the *Ātman* were separately evolved and then identified, thus forming together a most significant philosophic term for the absolute.¹ There were other conceptions also which were undergoing modification: in the Brāhmanas there are a number of passages² in which there is reference to the possibility of repeated death in the other world, and men shudder at the thought

¹ Oldenberg, *L.U.* 44-59

² *Ib.* 27 ff.

CHAPTER II

TRANSMIGRATION AND RELEASE: *y* to 200 B C

i. *Transmigration and Karma.*

§ 32 The immense influence which the doctrine of transmigration and karma has exercised on almost every element of Indian thought renders its appearance an event of such extreme significance as to make it the natural starting-point of a new period. The date is not known even approximately. Indian history in the stricter sense opens only with Alexander the Great's invasion of the Punjab in 326 B C.; so that all previous events possess only a relative chronology. The life of the Buddha, now approximately dated 560-480 B C., forms the starting-point for the conjectural dating of earlier occurrences. Behind his activity we can descry the rise of the philosophy of the Upanishads, and behind that again the emergence of the belief in transmigration and karma¹. The whole of the literature of the chapter shares this uncertainty; only a relative chronology is possible.

It is a very remarkable fact that the belief of the early people with regard to birth, death, and the other world underwent such a complete change at this period in their history. There is no trace of transmigration in the hymns of the Vedas, only in the Brāhmaṇas are there to be found a few traces of the lines of thought from which the doctrine arose. In the Upanishads, however, and in all later Hindu literature, the doctrine is universally accepted, and enters as an active force into almost every element of Hindu thought.

¹ See Keith, *JRIS* 1909, 574, 585-15; Oldenberg, *LU* 288, Poussin, *WN*, 10 ff., Waddell, *JRIS* 1914, 661 ff.

Through the spread of Buddhism the doctrine was accepted by the population of the centre, the east, and the south of Asia. It is thus impossible to exaggerate the importance of the change with which this chapter opens.

It has been clearly demonstrated that the immediate sources of both the conceptions—transmigration and karma—are to be found in the Brāhmanas;¹ yet the two are found linked together in a doctrine of moral requital for the first time in the Upanishads. The creation, therefore, of this master-conception is unquestionably the work of the Aryan mind. Yet the suggestion which many scholars have made, that the idea of transmigration must have come from totemistic aborigines who believed that after death their souls lived in animal bodies, may be, after all, partly true; for the Aryan people were not only in daily contact with aborigines but had already suffered large infusions of aboriginal blood.

§ 33 The theory is that souls are born and die many times, and that a man's conduct in one life determines his position in the next, good conduct being rewarded, and evil conduct punished. In the earliest passages² in which the doctrine appears, that is all that is stated, but soon it received a more definite form.

Those whose conduct has been pleasing, will quickly attain a pleasing birth, the birth of a Brāhman, or a Kshatriya, or a Vaiśya, but those whose conduct has been abominable, will quickly attain an abominable birth, the birth of a dog, or a hog, or an Outcaste.³

and this form it was which became the basis of the orthodox Hindu belief. Caste is the chief element of the requital of one's action. The word for action, *karma*, is used for the mysterious power which, according to this doctrine, causes all action to work itself out in requital in another life. The conception was soon deepened and broadened. It was recognized that a man's body, mind, and character, and also all the

¹ Oldenberg, *LU* 26-35.

² *Brhadāranyaka*, U. III 2, 13, IV. 4, 5

³ *Chhândogya*, U V 10, 7

details of his experience were elements of the requital. Men also recognized that, since each life is the requital of foregoing action, and since the actions of each new life demand another for their reward or punishment, the process of birth and death, *samsāra*, can have had no beginning, and can have no end. The soul was therefore eternal.

It would be well to notice that the theory took form among polytheists, and included gods, demons, animals, and plants in its sweep as well as men: there was no living being that was not subject to the law of rebirth. Nor was there any divine power that controlled the process: the concept of a Supreme, exalted high above all the gods, had not risen on the minds of the men who created the doctrine.

The doctrine would seem to have met a need of the time, for it steadily spread among cultured men throughout North India. Clearly the belief was a moral advance on earlier ideas; for it gave all conduct a moral meaning, and made every man realize the seriousness of life and his personal responsibility. Its evil effects did not become evident at once. For centuries this conception of the world sufficed for multitudes of thinking Hindus, and it still suffices for the unthinking masses; but for others, very soon, an addition became necessary.

§ 34. We have seen that in the age of the *Bṛāhmanas* a few men were already struggling to reach philosophic conceptions of the world which might form a more satisfactory basis for the religious life than the gross ritual and magic of the sacrifice. Terror-struck at the prospect of repeated death in the other world (an idea frequently referred to in the *Bṛāhmanas*), men longed for release from that fate, and some believed they had found it in the conviction that the gods and all the spiritual powers of the world are deathless, and that the man who, knowing this, brings his own spirit into union with these powers, wins a sure immortality.¹ The doctrine of transmigration now seemed to explain the grip which the things of

¹ Oldenberg, *IU.* 31 ff.

sense have on the human spirit, it also quickened the desire for release from the bondage of sense and death, but the unbroken series of births and deaths seemed to make the achievement of immortality and release more difficult than ever. How was escape possible? Hence there arose a passionate desire to find some means of deliverance, and from that passion sprang all the noblest forms of Hindu religious thought, and Buddhism and Jainism as well. Indeed, it is but the simple truth to say that karma and rebirth, with release, have given Indian religious thought its peculiar flavour.

§ 35. One of the chief historical facts to be realized at this point is this, that, during this period, South India was gradually inoculated, and at last thoroughly interpenetrated, with the religion and culture which had been taking shape in the north. Three political events must also be mentioned, the conquest of the Punjab by Darius, Alexander's raid, and the rise of the Maurya empire, for the third, which was a direct reaction from Greek domination and an imitation of the Persian system, proved of very large significance for the history of Buddhism.

11. *The Twice-born and their Literature.*

§ 36. The three twice-born castes—Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas—formed now a large educated community, sharply divided among themselves, yet far more deeply cut off from the vast Śūdra community which served them, and from the unclean Outcastes with whom they would have nothing to do. The whole of the literature described in our first chapter was their exclusive possession and much more was destined to come into existence during the period. But, though they kept themselves rigidly separate from Śūdras in all religious matters, it seems probable that Śūdra worship soon began to exercise an influence on them.

We deal, first of all, with what is, strictly speaking, the literature of the twice-born, namely works written in expo-

sition of the earlier literature. In all these books the doctrine of karma and rebirth is accepted as true, and here and there the Upanishad theory of release also finds reflection.

§ 37. We mention first what is clearly the earliest form of Indian philosophy, although its earliest surviving document cannot be dated earlier than the fourth century after Christ, and although in its inception it was in no sense philosophical. It is clear that the Karma Mīmāṃsā in some form came into existence quite early during this period. It is, as will be explained later, a method of Vedic exegesis, dealing primarily with the sacred texts which give injunctions for the sacrifices. Its interest for us at this point is twofold, first because it is to this day the special system of the orthodox twice-born man, and secondly because it retained for many centuries certain features characteristic of the time of its birth, and indeed retains some of them to this day. The Mīmāṃsā reflects the time when the average educated man was frankly polytheistic, and thus atheistic from the point of view of theism or pantheism, when he accepted rebirth and karma but felt no need of release, and when, like the average unreflecting man, he took a realistic view of the world. For the understanding of the developments of this period it is of great importance to realize that this was the state of mind of nearly all educated men¹ in the earlier, and probably of the vast majority in the later, part of the period also.

§ 38. We take next the literature of the Vedic schools. The basis of all the training is still the process of laying up in the memory the hymns of the Veda of one's school and the long chapters of the Brāhmaṇa. But a large amount of ancillary material has now to be mastered by the student as well as the fundamental texts. The sciences of Vedic exposition, phonetics, grammar, metre, etymology, &c., the beginnings of which are found in the Brāhmaṇas, have each grown in width and complexity as well as in accuracy. The sacrifices, both minor and major, have grown steadily more intricate

¹ Cf. Oldenberg, *L.U.* 31

and more numerous, and the *dharma*, i.e. the law of conduct, has become a large body of detailed injunctions. Hence, to enable the student to carry in his mind the vast and varied masses of information which he required to know, a new method of teaching was created, the *sūtra*-method. The essential feature of the method is the committing to memory of a long series of very abbreviated phrases, which serve as a sort of classified index of the particular subject dealt with. The method was of service in proportion to the care with which the subject was arranged, and to the skill with which the mnemonic phrases were composed. A series of *sūtras* is more or less incomprehensible by itself, it has always a commentary attached to it, either oral or written, which fills up the gaps and expounds the thought.

There are four types of *sūtras* which are of large significance for the religious life, namely the Śrauta, the Gṛhya, and the Dharma manuals, and the magic-books. The Śrauta-*sūtras* get their epithet Śrauta from the fact that they are directly founded on the hymns and the Brāhmanas, which are *śruti*, i.e. revelation in the highest sense. The Gṛhya manuals are called *gṛhya*, i.e. domestic, because they describe the minor sacrifices and the ritual acts obligatory on the family. The Dharma manuals lay down the rules of the *dharma*, i.e. the Hindu law of conduct. Of the Śrauta-*sūtras* a dozen survive, of the Gṛhyas also a dozen, or thirteen, if the *Kausika* be included, and of the Dharma manuals six, while there are four noteworthy books on magic.

It is as yet impossible to give any definite chronology of the *sūtras*; but all the surviving works of the Śrauta, Gṛhya, and Dharma classes (called as a group the Kalpa-*sūtras*) probably belong to the fifth, fourth, or third centuries¹. Nor is it yet possible to set them out in the order of their origin².

§ 39. The Śrauta-*sūtras* are hand-books prepared for the use of priests with reference to the greater Vedic sacrifices, i.e.

¹ See the discussions by Keith, *AA* 21-5, *TS* I xlv-xlv1.

² But see Keith, *TS* I xlv.

those for which three or more sacrificial fires, and priests belonging to each of the three orders, were necessary. Thus each Śrauta-sūtra depends on one of the three Vedas, and contains instructions only for the order of priests corresponding to that Veda. Hence in order fully to understand the ceremonial of any single sacrifice, it is necessary for the student to read together the sections on that sacrifice in three Śrauta-sūtras. For this certain other manuals, called Pañbhāshās, which show how the three strands of the sacrifice fit together, are used.

§ 40. The Grihya-sūtras deal with three groups of subjects. The first group contains general and detailed rules for the simpler sacrifices, which were performed on the domestic fire by the householder himself, if he were a Brāhman, or by a priest appointed by him for the purpose. These offerings are of three types: (a) melted butter, oil, or milk poured on the fire; (b) cooked cakes, and (c) animal sacrifices. The second group of subjects are the eighteen sacraments, solemn ceremonies connected with the great moments of life, such as birth, the first solid food given to the child, his tonsure, his initiation as a religious student, his return home after his education, and marriage. The third is a mixed group, including house-building rites, the funeral ceremony, the śrāddhas, or offerings to the spirits of deceased ancestors, and minor observances. As in all these ceremonies there is but one series of ritual acts and liturgic utterances, the Grihya-sūtras of the three Vedas differ very little from each other except in the Vedic stanzas they quote.

The Karma Mīmāṃsā, we may remind ourselves, existed in order that every injunction covered by the Śrauta and Grihya sūtras should be faithfully performed. Learned Mīmāṃsakas were usually present at the greater sacrifices to guide everything.

§ 41. The Dharmasūtras deal not with sacrifice but with conduct. The word *dharma* means that which is obligatory, and is thus similar to the Latin *religio*. It is used in several

senses, which vary chiefly in their scope—first, Hinduism as a whole is the *dharma*, just as to Buddhists Buddhism is the *dhamma*; second, the whole religious law, as expressed in the Śrauta, Grihya, and Dharma codes; third, the laws of conduct—this is the ordinary meaning, as in the Dharma-sūtras and the later Dharmaśāstras; and fourth, the law of a caste, as in the *Gītā* frequently. The Dharma-sūtras contain regulations for the four *āśramas* or forms of Hindu life, viz. the student, the householder, the hermit, and the ascetic, and the following special subjects: the king, civil law, criminal law, marriage, inheritance, funeral rites, penances, and excommunication. Originally the Dharma-sūtras were each meant to be used only by members of its own school, but later a number of them became recognized as valid for all twice-born men.

The basal principle upon which this law of conduct rests is the supreme obligation of the caste system. By that a man's profession and religious duties are determined, as well as his place in Hindu society. The Brāhman is the priest, teacher, and judge, the Kshatriya is the ruler and warrior, the Vaiśya turns to agriculture, industry, or trade, the Śūdra is the servant of these three twice-born castes. The Outcastes are untouchable and are shut out in their filth and their poverty. All the provisions of the laws of property and crime are conditioned by caste—the higher a man's caste, the greater his rights, the higher the caste of the criminal, the less his punishment, the higher the caste of the wronged party, the greater the penalty. It is well to note that in the time of these sūtras each man chooses his own *āśrama*, i.e. whether he is to remain a student, or become a householder, a hermit, or a sannyāsī: these modes of life have not yet become a series through which each man is expected to pass. Amongst the fresh regulations, we note two of supreme importance for the family—the rule that a girl should be married before puberty,¹

¹ *Gautama DS* XVIII 21-23, *Vāsisṭha DS*, XVII 69-70, *Baudhāyana DS* IV 1, 11-12

and the rule that no widow who has borne children should remarry¹

§ 42 The religion reflected in the sūtras² is polytheistic and ritualistic. There is no trace of divine incarnation in them, and no approach to theism. The philosophy of the Ātman is mentioned as a subject of meditation for the sannyāsī, and in one sūtra it is heartily commended to the student on the ground that there is no higher object than the attainment of the Ātman.³ Necessarily, the whole of the Vedic religion is represented—the soma-cult, the fire-cult, animal sacrifice, and the numerous magic rites. Temples and images also appear side by side with these ancient methods of worship, but we are told nothing about the temple-cult, the reason seemingly being that it stands outside the Vedic faith. The old pantheon remains, but several new divinities appear, chiefly abstractions—Dharma, religious law; Kubera, wealth; Kāma, Cupid—Brahmā, whom we meet in the Ātanyakas, has also an honoured place. The worship of snakes, mountains, rivers, and pools is also found, and cow-pens are reckoned among holy places. The doctrine of transmigration and karma is recognized as true by every one, but the old eschatology is still in use, so that there is no unity of treatment. Readers will note how close the resemblance is to the religion of the original Epics.

§ 43 The appearance during this period of the sūtra-texts on Magic shows that the practice of the old methods of magic was still a very living part of the religion, but we must notice that these ceremonies did not form part of the obligatory ceremonial law (*kalpa*), but are extra and voluntary. The chief text, the *Kausika-sūtra* which belongs to the *Atharva-veda*, is first of all a *Grihya-sūtra*, but also gives a great deal of detailed information about magical ceremonies, and makes much that is far from clear in the *Atharvan* quite compre-

¹ *Gautama DS.* XVIII. 4-17, *Vāsishttha DS.* XVII. 55-68, 74

² See the careful sketch by Hopkins, *RI.* 242-63.

³ *Āpastamba DS.* I. 8, 22-3.

hensible. The *Rigvidhāna* describes the magical effects produced by the recitation of hymns or single verses of the *Rigveda*; while the *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* shows how the chants of the *Sāmaveda* may be used for superstitious practices.¹ The *Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa* also belongs to the *Samaveda*, and deals with portents and the means to avert their evil influence. We may also mention here the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* of the *Atharvaveda*, which is a late text of very varied character, depending on the *Vaitāna-sūtra*.

§ 44. Subsidiary sūtras also existed on the measurement of altars and were called *Śulva-sūtras*, from the word for a measuring line, on Phonetics, *Śikshā*, Grammar, *Vyākaraṇa*, Etymology, *Nūktā*, Prosody, *Chhandas*, and Astronomy, *Jyotiṣa*. There were also special forms of the text of the *Rigveda* and various ancillary works on minor matters

A large part of this literature is of no interest for our subject, as, from the modern standpoint, it is purely secular. But there is one of these secular books which we must mention, because of the immense influence it has exerted over language in India, and its consequent importance for Indian history. We refer to the *Ashtādhyāyī* or Eight Chapters of Pāṇini on *Vyākaraṇa*, Grammar. Pāṇini lived at Taxila in the far north-west, seemingly about the middle of the fourth century B.C.² He may have been alive when Alexander and his army were entertained in the city with royal magnificence. In him culminated the movement to make the speech of the Vedic schools a thoroughly musical, trustworthy, intelligible, and polished instrument, and his book has been the norm of the *Sanskṛta*, i. e. the cultured, speech ever since. Down to his time this language had gradually changed, but from the moment when in the schools of India his book became the standard, Sanskrit became an unchangeable language. By his day great differences had already arisen between the polished tongue and

¹ For the date of these texts, see Keith, *TS* I clxvii.

² Keith, *TS* I clxviii.

the current forms of speech Sanskrit was becoming incomprehensible to the uneducated man. Hence lay its disadvantage and still lies. But, on the other hand, it remains permanently intelligible to all cultured men throughout India, while each vernacular is restricted to its own domain, and also changes so rapidly that usually in three or four hundred years its best literature is as foreign to the vulgar as Sanskrit itself.

The whole of this sūtra-literature was recognized as revelation of the second grade and was called *smṛiti*, remembrance, in contrast with literature of the highest grade, which, as we have already seen, was called *śruti*.

§ 45 A famous work on politics, Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, which has recently come to light, though not a religious work, must be mentioned here on account of the large amount of detailed information it affords incidentally as to the condition of religion and morals in Magadha, towards the end of the period. According to tradition, Kauṭilya is another name for Chāṇakya, Chandragupta's Brāhman minister, but critical inquiry tends to lead to the conclusion that the work is the text-book of a school of politics, and that, while probably part of it is the work of Chāṇakya, it has been redacted and interpolated.¹ Yet its evidence is of great value, if we give its date rather wide limits, say from 300 to 100 B. C. It is a work which no one dealing with Hindu ethics can afford to neglect. The information it gives about government, law, crime and its punishment, and the social and economic state of the country is of very great importance. Its evidence with regard to the religion of Magadha is most interesting. The popular belief was a wide and varied polytheism, for not only are the great gods and many of the minor divinities of Hinduism mentioned, but the worship of mountains, rivers, trees and fire, of birds, snakes, and cows and other animals, is regarded as of great value as a prophylactic against pestilence, cattle-disease, demons, fire, floods, drought, famine,

¹ Keith, *JRAS.* 1916, p. 130. But see also K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Some Considerations on Ancient Indian Polity*, Madras, 1916.

and other calamities. Numerous ceremonies, incantations, and magical arts are recommended for such purposes also. Readers will note how well this fits in with the evidence of the epics and the sūtras. Another aspect of the book is its eschatology. It does not seem to mention transmigration, karma, or release at all. In all these features the work is very similar to the edicts of Aśoka. The following is the basis of the moral and religious teaching of the treatise.

The observance of one's own duty leads one to heaven (*svarga*) and infinite bliss (*ānanta*). When it is violated, the world will come to an end owing to confusion of castes and duties. Hence the king shall never allow people to swerve from their duties. . . . For the world, when maintained in accordance with the injunctions of the triple Veda, will surely progress, but never perish.¹

This is precisely the position of the Karma Mīmāṃsā. The work recommends the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, and Lokāyata philosophies. The first and the last of the three are atheistic, and it is practically certain that at this date the Yoga was so also.

iii. *The Epics*

§ 46 The epics of India, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which were originally heroic narratives, became in the course of their history religious works, and are of extreme importance as evidence on the subject of the religion of the common people and with regard to the rise of the sects of Hinduism. But they are so vast that they are apt to fill the virgin inquirer with utter dismay, and in the case of the *Mahābhārata*, the contents present such an extraordinary medley—explained to us as arising from interminable interpolations and the operations of countless editors each with a policy of his own—that they deepen the feeling to blank despair. Yet, taken in the right way, they ought to prove very fruitful. The parts of each poem must be read at the points of the history where they appeared.

¹ I. iii.

Scholars seem to be coming steadily nearer unanimity as to the three essential moments in the history of the epics. They are practically the same for both. All three stages are very fully represented in the *Mahābhārata*, but it is in the *Rāmāyaṇa* that the first and the second can be most easily studied, while the third, which is only faintly represented in it, attains enormous proportions in the *Mahābhārata*. They are as follows .

- A. The epics composed as popular poems sixth, fifth, or fourth century B. C.
- B. The epics changed into sectarian poems by Vaishnava priests second century B. C.
- C. Vaishnava theism in both epics - the *Mahābhārata* becomes a huge encyclopaedia of theology, philosophy, politics, and law first and second centuries A. D.

There is perhaps not quite so much unanimity with regard to the dates suggested as to the three distinct movements¹. All would acknowledge further that fragments of material found their way into the *Mahābhārata* in still later centuries.

§ 47 In this chapter, then, we deal only with the first stage. The roots of popular epic poetry lie very far back, in dramatic stories in the Vedic hymns and narratives in the Brāhmanas,² and it is probable that the first attempts at actual epics (possibly indeed a rudimentary *Mahābhārata*, or *Rāmāyaṇa*) go back as far as the age of the Brāhmanas, for since the epic is popular, and its language is Sanskrit, it must have originated at a time when the warriors in the chieftain's hall understood heroic songs in Sanskrit, that is, a time when the popular and the cultured speech were still near enough to be practically one. That in India, as in Greece, the epic arose from the song that glorified the noble deed, stands out clearly

¹ Holtzmann, *MBH* I 5 ff., 126 ff., 152 ff.; Jacobi, *R.* 24 ff., 60 ff., 100 ff.; Macdonell, *SL* 285-6, 305-12; Hopkins, *GE* 397-8; Winternitz, *I.* 389 ff., 423 ff.

² Macdonell, 280-1; Keith, *AA.* 196 n. 19.

in the ancient evidence. The early songs were sung, and the more elaborate compositions founded on them were either sung or recited with eloquent declamation and dramatic gesture.¹

Scholars agree that the first rounded *Mahābhārata* and the first completed *Rāmāyana* arose from these earlier efforts, and that they both appeared in the same age, between 600 and 300 B. C.,² but unanimity has not yet been reached on the question as to which came first.³ For our purpose, however, the question is of little importance. We need merely recognize that both were already in existence by 300 B. C. and that both may have arisen a good deal earlier. The features of the two epics, the place where they arose, the way in which they were formed from earlier pieces and other interesting problems, are discussed by the critics.⁴ Strictly speaking, the original epics ought not to come into our survey, for they were not composed as religious works, but as heroic poems. Yet their subsequent history changed them into religious works of very great importance, and the original material is a source of religious history all the more valuable because it is indirect.

§ 48. We shall take the shorter epic first, as it is easier to detach the original *Rāmāyana* from its accretions than to reach the genuine *Bhārata* amidst the immeasurable masses of extraneous material in which it is buried. Scholars agree that of the seven books of which the *Rāmāyana* consists, the whole of the first⁵ and the seventh books are later additions. Thus Books II-VI represent the genuine old epic. But even

¹ Holtzmann, *MBH* I 52 ff.; Hopkins, *GE* 363-7.

² Macdonell, *SL* 285-306-7. Hopkins, *GE* VI, Keith, *JRAS* 1915, 318 ff.

³ Jacobi puts the *Rāmāyana* first, *R* 60 ff., so Macdonell, *SL* 306, but see also *ERE* X. 576. Hopkins sets the *Bhārata* epic first, then the *Rāmāyana*, then the Pāṇḍu epic, *GE* 60-1, 238-9.

⁴ Jacobi, *R* 119 ff.; Holtzmann, *MBH* I 15 ff.; Macdonell, *SL* 310, Hopkins, *GE* 79 and *passim*.

⁵ With the exception of verses 5 to 8 of Canto V, which Jacobi, *R* 55, believes formed the first lines of Vālmīki's work.

in these books there are numerous passages that have been foisted on the text by reciters. Most of them are either variants, which make the details of the story harder to follow, or repetitions, which weary the reader intolerably, so that, before scanning text or translation, it would be well to put up a danger-signal beside each *motass*.¹ Estimates of the date of Vālmīki's work vary from the sixth to the fourth century B.C.²

Vālmīki's poem helps us to understand the religion the more because it is a secular work, for it gives us an undisturbed reflection of some aspects of the popular faith. And we do well to look at it carefully; for from a very early date the work has been read as a mirror of character, and in its enlarged form the *Rāmāyaṇa* is still the first of all Vishnuite scriptures. Religion, then, in the original work is still frankly polytheistic and external. There are no sects. Every one acknowledges all the gods; and worship is made by means of sacrifice, usually animal sacrifice. There is no mention here of the philosophy of the Ātman. The *sannyāsī* never appears, but at every turn the ancient *vānaprastha*. There is no approach to anything like a theism. The idea of divine incarnation never occurs; Rāma from beginning to end is a man and only a man: he is a great hero, but there is no suggestion that he is in any sense a god. Most of the old gods of the Veda are mentioned, and there is no monarch among them, although Indra may receive a little more recognition than the others. A number of new divinities have taken their places among the famous early gods, especially Kāma, Kubera, Śukra, and Kārttikeya, and the following goddesses. Gangā, the Ganges, with Lakshmī and Umā, the

¹ The following are the chief interpolations recognized by Jacobi: II 41-9, 66-93, 107, 17-111, 117, 5-119; III 1-14, IV 17-18, 40-43, 45-7, V 41-55, 58-64, 66-8, VI 23-40, 59-60, 69, 74-5. Besides these, there is one very late canto which would confuse the reader seriously, viz VI 119.

² Jacobi, *R.* 100-112, inclines to the sixth, or even the eighth century. The latest careful review of the question is by Keith, *JRAS* 1915, 318. He inclines to the fourth century as the true date and Macdonell agrees. *LRE* X 576.

wives of Vishṇu and Śiva. Semi-divine animals, Śeṣha, the snake, Hanumān, the monkey, Jambavān, the bear, Garuda, the eagle, Jatāyus, the vulture, and Nandī, Śiva's bull, are quite prominent. Vishṇu and Śiva, who in the later Vedas and the Brāhmanas are far more important than they are in the *Rik*, here maintain that prominence. Snakes, trees, rivers, and lakes are also worshipped. It is of importance to note that temples and images of the gods are common, and that animal sacrifice is the usual offering. There is no allusion to the phallus of Śiva. Innumerable superstitions haunt the religious consciousness. The doctrine of transmigration and karma is everywhere accepted and applied to life, but it is not yet full grown. Men do not understand all its implications, and parts of the old scheme of things still survive.

§ 49 The original heroic *Mahābhārata* is much harder to isolate, chiefly because it was redacted with greater care and persistence by the priests than the companion poem. It is referred to in the epic itself, for in the first section of the first book as it stands to-day we are told that the *Bhārata* consists of 8,800 verses, of 24,000 verses, and of 100,000 verses. These three computations correspond to the three stadia in the composition of the poem referred to above. Thus the work we are thinking of here contained 8,800 verses. No scholar has yet undertaken to separate out the component passages, and reform the ancient work, so that it cannot be studied precisely in the same way as the original *Rāmāyana*, but the student may form some idea of its character by reading one of the oldest episodes, Nala,¹ or Sāvitrī,² or the famous gambling scene,³ or some of the battle-scenes from Book VIII or IX, though even in these the trail of the redactor will be crossed here and there.

Then scholars are quite able to see the religious characteristics of the old poem, though they cannot extricate it from the clinging mass of fresh growth. The religion is polytheistic and ritualistic through and through, sectarianism has not yet

¹ III. 52 ff.

² III. 292 ff.

³ II. 46-73

appeared ; there is no theism in it, no divine incarnation, no exposition of the Ātman doctrine. The three chief gods seem to be Indra, Brahmā, and Agni, but the whole of the old pantheon survives. Dharmā, i.e. Law, and Kāma, Love, appear as divinities, and Kṛishṇa appears also, but whether as god or man is not yet known with certainty.

Epic society is dominated by caste, yet there is far more social freedom than at later stages of Hindu history ; and women in particular have a good deal of liberty. Brāhmans, in contravention of the regular rule, often become warriors. Hindus have not yet become vegetarians : everybody eats beef. The polyandry of Draupadī is clearly a historical trait which has persisted in the story, despite its naturally repulsive character.

§ 50. One of the chief problems of this period is the use of the god Kṛishṇa, who seems to have had as one of his epithets the title Vāsudeva. Some scholars believe that in the original *Mahābhārata* he was a man and only a man,¹ and that he was deified at a rather later date. Others affirm that he is always a god in the *Mahābhārata*.² Of these some suppose that he was originally a vegetation-spirit, others that he was a sun-god. It is certainly clear that he was already a god of some sort in the fourth century B.C. ; for in Pāṇini's grammar³ Vāsudeva and Aṅgana appear as a pair of divinities. Megasthenes, a Greek ambassador at the court of Chandragupta about 300 B.C., has a sentence which seems to mean that Kṛishṇa was worshipped at Mathurā and Kṛishnapur. In the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upanishad*,⁴ which is probably not later than the third century B.C., there is a litany in which the title Vāsudeva is used as an epithet of Viṣṇu, which seems to mean that Kṛishṇa was already in some sense identified with Viṣṇu. Finally, in the *Mahābhāshya*⁵ of Patañjali, which was probably written about 150 B.C., Vāsudeva is spoken of as a divinity.

¹ Hopkins, *ION* 105 (but see below) ; Grierson, *IRE* II. 541 ; Garbe, *IC* 210.

² Keith, *JRAS* 1915, 548 ; Hopkins, *GE* 395, n. 3, *RI* 467-8.

³ IV. 3. 98. ⁴ I. 31. ⁵ On Pāṇini, IV. 3. 98.

SIR R. G. Bhandarkar¹ has a notable theory of his own on the subject. He distinguishes between Vāsudeva and Krishna. He believes that Vāsudeva was originally a man belonging to the Sātvata tribe, that he lived in the sixth century B.C., if not earlier, and that he taught the people of his tribe a monotheistic religion. Some time after his death he was deified by his own people and identified with the one personal God whom he had preached. He was thereafter identified, first with Nārāyaṇa, then with Viṣṇu, and finally with the cowherd god of Mathurā, Gopāla Kṛṣṇa. From the sect which worshipped this god there arose, according to this theory, the famous poem, the *Bhagavadgītā*. Grierson,² Winternitz,³ and Garbe⁴ accept the theory, and support it aidently, but Hopkins⁵ and Keith⁶ hold that it can be shown to be unhistorical, and most scholars seem to follow them. There is certainly no clear evidence of the existence of a monotheistic faith during those early centuries.

§ 51. In the Epics and the Sūtras we meet the first references to Hindu temple-and-image worship. But it is most noteworthy that, by the side of the minute instructions for the sacrifices given in the Kalpa-sūtras, no directions for the temple-cult appear. The latter seems to be merely tolerated by the side of the orthodox cult. Then, at a later date, when the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas organized themselves as sects, worshipping Viṣṇu and Śiva by temple and image, they were condemned as unorthodox; and the taint remains to some extent to the present day. It is also important to realize that from the earliest times at which we catch glimpses of the organization of Hindu temple-worship, there are stringent rules to the effect that the priests must be Brāhmins, and that the temples are open to all men and women of the four castes—Brāhman, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra—but to no others. What the history behind these facts is, it is as yet impossible

¹ *VS* Chaps. IV, VII, VIII, IX.

² *ERE* II. 540 ff.

³ *JRAS* 1905, 384.

⁴ *I.* 373

⁵ *JRAS* 1915, 548; *ib.* 1917, 173.

⁶ *IC.* 215 ff.

to say with certainty.¹ One of the largest interests of the later history of Hindu worship is the slow but steady weakening of the old sacrificial cult under the pressure of the more attractive temple-system.

iv *Systems of Release.*

§ 52. On the basis of ideas expressed in the philosophic hymns of the *Rigveda* and the *Atharvaveda* there were evolved in the time of the *Brahmanas* two conceptions of the Absolute, the *Brahman* and the *Ātman*, the Self, the former drawn either from the concept of the supernatural power resident in holy things² or from reflection on the outer world,³ the latter drawn from the subjective life of man. The ideas were then combined, with the result that the Absolute was thought of as both the source of all things and as a spiritual being. The *Brahman-Ātman* thus came to be the phrase for the one spiritual reality, unchanging, universal, free from all earthly bonds, from birth and death, pain and sorrow, and

¹ So far as the evidence goes, it would seem that for many centuries after their entrance into India the Aryan people used no images, erected no temples, and recognized no sacred places. Their cult consisted of the sacrifices, and these were private and personal, and were carried out within a man's own house or domains, or wherever the performance was desirable. On the other hand, the facts of modern India suggest that the sacred spot, with its local shrine and image or symbol, open to all the people of the tribe, is a very old aboriginal institution. It seems as if the Aryans and the aborigines were very sharply divided in their conceptions of worship as well as in other matters. If this inference then is justifiable, it would be natural to conjecture that, when, at a very early period, masses of the aborigines were admitted to intercourse with the conquering Aryans and called *Sūdras*, they carried with them into the Aryan community their temple-and-image worship, and that this cult was at some later date regularized, either by the appointment of real *Brāhmanas* as ministrants, or by the recognition of the actual incumbents as *Brāhmanas*. If we could be sure that the second of these alternatives is what actually happened, we should then have a really adequate historical reason for the very curious fact that, to this day and all over India, temple-ministrants are held in much less consideration than other *Brāhmanas*. There is one point which is absolutely clear, namely this, that the essential elements of the temple-cult—the sixteen operations, *śodāśa upachāra*—are so distinct in character from the sacrificial cult as to betray an alien origin.

² Oldenberg, *LU* 44-52; Poussin, *WN* 22.

³ Deussen, *AGP* I 240 ff.

the noble minds of the time longed to be released from the doom of repeated death in the other world, and to reach immortality and the peace of the Ātman.

A. *The Upanishads*

§ 53. When the doctrine of rebirth and karma arose, it made the phenomenal world and human life seem much more unsatisfactory and enslaving than before, and therefore created in the best men a deeper desire than ever for release from all earthly conditions, and especially from rebirth.

Then some courageous thinker, conscious to the utmost not only of the kinship and similarity of his own ātman to the universal Ātman, but also of the unlimited outlook and desire of the human spirit, took the bold leap and declared the two identical 'My ātman is the universal Ātman whole and undivided'. The immediate consequence of this outreach of conviction was necessarily a vivid consciousness of uplift above all merely phenomenal conditions, of community of life and privilege with God, and an immovable conviction of release from transmigration and all its bonds.

The conviction spread to others, and soon there was a company of men who regarded themselves as liberated. In their exaltation of mind, and in their fear lest the old worldly life should rob them of their new-found treasure, they gave up completely the life of the family and the world, and became wandering, homeless, celibate ascetics, without possessions, without responsibilities, devoted altogether to the life of the Ātman. They were called *parivrājakas*, wanderers, *bhikṣus*, beggars, *sannyāsīs*, renouncers. They found a life that was a fitting expression of their new experience in a complete renunciation of the world and of all the rules of society. They wandered about, giving their time to meditation, discussion, and teaching, sleeping at the foot of a tree, getting their food by begging. In numerous episodes we see them conversing and discussing in the woods, in the villages, at kings' courts, and at sacrifices.

One of the most remarkable facts about these men is this, that they gave up the old worship completely. This is the point at which they are most clearly distinguishable from the older order of ascetics, the *vānaprasthās*. The sacrifices were meant to induce the gods to grant to their worshippers health, wealth, and all the other pleasures of life. Of what service, then, could they be to men who, having found the Atman, had therein found full satisfaction and no longer looked to material things for comfort and consolation? The ancient worship, and with it all the learning on which it rested, had thus become worthless to them.¹ The corroding effect of philosophic thought had thus already gone a long way. Yet, though they took no further part in the sacrifices, they still believed in the gods and demigods and the old mythology. These still formed to them part of the totality of things explained by their belief in the Brahman-Ātman.

Some scholars hold that the new teaching arose among the Kshatriyas, the warrior caste, and was only at a later date accepted by the Brāhmans,² but most scholars believe that, while Kshatriyas and people of lower castes, and women as well as men, took part in the discussions and rejoiced in the new beliefs, the main part in the evolution of the doctrine was taken by Brāhmans. It is certainly true that the root of every single idea involved in the new philosophy is found in the earlier Brahmanical books.³

§ 54. At first the teaching seems to have been carried on exclusively in free discussions anywhere and everywhere, and the new ideas and the new life were open to everybody, but finally the Brahmanical schools began to teach it as the last subject of their curriculum, and there it took root and grew. At first doubtless the teaching was given in extempore freedom, only certain great phrases expressing the central ideas, such as *Tat tvam asi*, 'Thou art that', i.e. 'Thou art

¹ Poussin, *WN.* 9, 29

² Deussen, *PU.* 17, 120, 396; Garbe, *Beiträge*, 23; Winternitz, I. 199

³ Oldenberg, *LU.* 166; Keith, *AA.* 50, 257; *JRAS.* 1915, 550.

54- TRANSMIGRATION AND RELEASE

the Brahman-Ātman', being given in fixed form, but gradually the lectures received settled expression, and they were then communicated to the pupils and by them committed to memory, precisely as the hymns and the Brāhmaṇas were handed on. From this time onward, then, only Brāhmanas taught the doctrine, and only men of the three twice-born castes were allowed to hear it. From this circumstance, doubtless, the name 'Upanishad', 'secret doctrine',¹ arose.

The outcome of this teaching was the early Upanishads. Each consists of a great many distinct pieces of teaching, of varying value, character, and length, products of the activity of many minds and of many years of advancing thought. They are in simple discursive prose, and show clearly the process of transition from the old sacrificial teaching of the Brāhmaṇas to philosophy. Amidst the prose, brief passages in verse occur in a few places. To this group of early prose works there belong six treatises, distributed as follows among the Vedic schools:

<i>Vedas.</i>	<i>Schools</i>	<i>Upanishads</i>
I. RĪK	{ Āitareya Kaushītaki	<i>Āitareya</i> <i>Kaushītaki</i>
II. SĀMAN	{ Tāṇḍins Talavakāras	<i>Chhāndogya</i> <i>Kena</i>
III. { BLACK YAJUS	Taittirīyas	<i>Taittirīya</i>
{ WHITE YAJUS	Vājasaneyins	<i>Bṛihadāranyaka</i>

Since each Upanishad is a collection of pieces of varying date, it is not possible to arrange these six compilations in order of seniority; yet their relative age may be approximately indicated. Deussen's order is:² 1. *Bṛihadāranyaka*. 2. *Chhāndogya*. 3. *Taittirīya*. 4. *Āitareya*. 5. *Kaushītaki*.

¹ Such is the usual explanation of the word (Deussen, *PU* 10-11, Keith, *AA* 239). Oldenberg holds that it means 'reverential meditation' (*LÜ.* 37, 155).

² *PU* 23.

6 *Kena*; and Macdonell¹ and Winternitz² follow him. Keith, however, holds that the *Aitareya* is earlier even than the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, and that it does not teach the doctrine of transmigration.³ If that be so, it does not enter into our discussion here. Oldenberg⁴ takes the *Aitareya* along with the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* and the *Chhāndogya*, and also suggests rather tentatively that the *Īśā*, which other scholars regard as a later text, and the *Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa* should be included among these six early works. In any case it is clear that the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* and the *Chhāndogya* are by far the most important of the six; for in them all the leading ideas are first clearly developed.

It was mainly in the land of the Jumna and the Ganges, from Kurukshetra to Benares, that the original discussions which created the new thought took place; and in the schools of the same regions the Upanishads took form. Since these treatises were formed by a process of slow growth and accretion, and were preserved, not in writing, but in human memories, it is not possible to fix on any definite dates for their composition. Yet it is clear that the teaching had taken very definite form, and was influencing men's thoughts far and wide, when Gautama, the Buddha, began to teach about 525 B.C., and scholars believe that we may safely assume that by 500 B.C., this body of literature was already in existence in very much the same shape as it has come down to us.⁵

§ 55. The essential aim of the Upanishads is to explain reality, to discover the Absolute. All the ideas of the teaching circle round the great conception of Brahman-Ātman, the source, the support, and the reality of the universe. The human self is not a part of the divine Self, but is the Brahman-Ātman whole and undivided. It is knowledge that gives release. The man who in his own self

¹ 226² I. 205.³ *AA* 43, *SS* 16.⁴ *LU* 341.⁵ Hopkins, *YT*. 336, gives the sixth century as the date. Oldenberg suggests still earlier dates, *LU*. 288, and also Poussin, *WV* 10

realizes the truth of the Ātman is thereby liberated from the chains of transmigration and from the slavery of worldly things. He is an emancipated spirit, at death will enter into bliss, and will never be reborn. Through his liberation he enters at once upon a blessed experience, for he then begins to know the peace, immortality, and freedom of the supreme Ātman. These lines of belief run through the Upanishads everywhere; and the mass of the teaching seeks to illustrate these positions and to create the conviction that they are true.

But there is no articulated system taught.¹ Outside the leading ideas, the teaching is by no means uniform. The relation of the Brahman to the material world is expressed in several ways. In many passages the reality of the world is assumed, Brahman created it and entered into it, he pervades it and extends beyond it. In others the reality of the Brahman is stated so forcibly as almost to leave the impression that the world is an illusion. One there is, and there is no second. Only the great spiritual Unity exists, there is no manifold such as our eyes see in nature. He who affirms that the manifold exists does not know the One. In these idealistic passages great stress is also laid on the unknowableness of the Ātman. He is a subject without an object, the universal Subject, far uplifted beyond the need of any object, and therefore far beyond human understanding. Similarly, while the Ātman is usually conceived impersonally, there are many phrases which, if strictly interpreted, imply personality. He is called 'the inner Guide'; at his bidding sun and moon stay asunder; he causes men to do good works and to do evil works. The truth is, these wonderful treatises were not meant to build up a complete philosophical temple for the human mind, but rather to provide materials to stab the spirit awake, to open the eyes to the spiritual world, and to lead men to realization of God and renunciation of the world.

¹ Deussen expounds them as teaching an idealistic system. *PU.* 231, 398, but Oldenberg, *LU* 59-104 and *passim*, and Keith, *SS.* 5, recognize fully the variant conceptions.

The Ātman is bliss, and the man who realizes his identity with the Ātman enters into peace, but, apart from the Ātman, all else is full of sorrow. All that comes into existence is evil. There is thus in the teaching of the Upanishads a basis for pessimism; but their general tone is by no means pessimistic.¹ Emancipation fills many a passage with a joyous radiance.

There are many strikingly beautiful and effective passages in these works: here a few sentences which recall the Psalms, there a brief paragraph which reminds one of Plato. There is a simple sincerity about them, and a childlike naturalness of vision which are very attractive. There are parts of these works which will take a high and permanent place in the world's best literature. But, after all, the books are but compilations; and, beside these lofty prophesyings which reveal the Indian mind at its noblest and greatest, there are many passages as futile and worthless as the poorest twaddle of the Brāhmanas. The Brāhman compiler had not yet learnt to separate the wheat from the chaff.

§ 56. The passion for release and the example of these wandering ascetics stirred many other groups of men to thought and inquiry; so that by the middle of the sixth century there were many leaders, each with his doctrine of release and his ascetic discipline, preaching on the plains of the north. These we merely mention now, for we must follow the school of the Upanishads to the end of the period.

The original Upanishads, which we dealt with above, continued to be taught orally in their respective schools as the source of that knowledge of the Brahman-Ātman which brings release from the bonds of karma and transmigration. But men had begun to realize that many passages in these treatises were worthless for the end in view, and the awkwardness of carrying a long piece of discursive prose in the memory as a spiritual tonic constantly obtruded itself, while the verses interspersed proved potent as teaching and easy to remember.

¹ See Keith, SS 13, Oldenberg, *J. U.* 115 ff

Hence arose a new series of short Upanishads in verse, which are the sole surviving product of the teaching given in the schools on the subject of the Ātman during these centuries. Their purpose in the main is, not to introduce fresh teaching, but to express in more convenient form what was now the settled orthodox belief of the sannyāsī schools. We here set them out in the order of their age¹ and in their connexion with the Vedic schools

<i>Veida.</i>	<i>School</i>	<i>Upanishad.</i>
BLACK YAJUS	Kāthakas	<i>Kāthaka</i>
WHITE YAJUS	Vājasaneyins	<i>Īśā</i>
BLACK YAJUS		<i>Śvetāśvatara</i>
ATHARVAN		<i>Mundaka</i>
BLACK YAJUS	Taittirīyas	<i>Mahānārāyaṇa</i>

It is impossible to give precise dates for any one of these poems, but most scholars would agree that, if we place the *Kāthaka* about 500 B.C.,² and the *Mahānārāyaṇa* in the third century,³ we shall not be far wrong

While it is true that the purpose of these treatises is rather a restatement of teaching than an advance in thought, yet the changes inevitable in the centuries appear in them. These are in the main in two directions. There is a distinct advance shown in the capacity for sustained thinking, and the subject is developed in more orderly sequence than in the earlier works.⁴ There is a tendency towards the exaltation of Vishnu and Śiva as symbols of Brahman, and an increasing emphasis is laid on self-discipline.

The introduction of Vishnu and Śiva leads to a movement of thought in the direction of theism. In the *Kāthaka* there is little advance, but in the *Īśā* we meet with the word which is used in later literature to denote the personal Supreme in Hinduism, *Īśa*, *Īśvara*, Lord. In the *Śvetāśvatara* and in the *Mundaka* the personal God stands out face to face with

¹ Deussen, *PU.* 24

² Oldenberg, *LU* 203, 288, 357, Keith, *SS* 9

³ Keith, *JRAS.* 1908, 171 n. 2

⁴ Oldenberg, *LU.* 206

the personal soul, yet the philosophy is monistic, and the full identity of the individual and the universal Ātman is maintained.¹ In the *Śvetāśvatara* Śiva is introduced under his old name Rudra; and, for the first time in Hindu literature, devotional feeling, *bhakti*, is spoken of as due to him. He is said to control the whole process of karma and transmigration.

When God is clearly conceived as a person, He is necessarily distinguished from the material universe as well as from the human soul. But the *Śvetāśvatara*, while it suggests divine personality in several ways, is unwilling to give up the ancient monism. Hence the material world is declared to be *māyā*, illusion, so that Brahman may remain the All as well as the One. This idea is of transcendent importance in the later religion.

In the hermitages of the Vānaprasthas, the austerities which were originally used to win supernatural power were employed to discipline the body and mind for religious purposes, the ends sought through the discipline being intercourse with the gods, purity of character, and an etherealized body,² and the word *yoga*,³ 'yoking', 'restraint', was used to cover the whole range of these regulated methods of physical and mental control. In the verse Upanishads these methods are heartily commended for use in the search for Brahman.⁴ In the old Upanishads, when the idea of the Ātman is reached by a rigorous process of abstraction, the result is an idealistic conception, a mind which is a subject without an object, a knower that is unknowable. This led quite naturally to the belief that, in order to apprehend the Unknowable in mystic vision, the soul must be disciplined to perfect stillness; and to this end the restraining methods of yoga were prescribed. In so far also as ethical conditions were regarded as a pre-condition of the enlightenment which is emancipation, the

¹ See Barnett, *JRAS* 1910, 1363.

² *Chhândogya U.* V 10, 1; II 23, 1; *Rāmāyaṇa*, II liv, III 1, v; xii.

³ *Taittiriya U.* II 4.

⁴ Oldenberg, *L.U.* 258 ff., Keith, *SS* 55.

practice of yoga was regarded as helpful. In the *Kāṭhaka* and in the *Śvetāśvatara* yoga methods are very seriously commended; and we shall find that the early Buddhists were led by similar motives to similar practices. Along with the description of these exercises, a theory which explains them is stated in outline three times over in the *Kāṭhaka*, and it reappears in the *Śvetāśvatara*. It is not discussed in detail, yet the conceptions expressed and the technical terms used make it quite clear that it is the germ of what is known in later literature as the Sāṅkhya philosophy.¹

In these treatises also the Vedānta first occurs as the name of the philosophy of the Upanishads. Both groups of Upanishads were attached to the Brāhmanas of the schools to which they belonged, and were recognized as *śruti*, revelation of the highest grade.

B. Many Schools.

§ 57. From the prose Upanishads and the earliest Jain and Buddhist literature it is plain that by the middle of the sixth century many speculative systems were already being taught,² each represented by a leader and his following of monks; for asceticism was as essential to the system-teachers in India then as the philosopher's cloak was in ancient Greece. Some of these teachers were not far removed from the sannyāsīs of the Upanishads, many were much more sceptical, while some were thorough-going materialists. It is not possible to sketch the systems clearly, but one significant fact stands out undeniable, that a number of them were distinctly atheistic, like the Karma Mīmāṃsā. The chief were the systems which came to be known as Jainism and Buddhism, but there were others. Clearly for a long time, seemingly for several centuries, the doctrine of the Brahman-Ātman laid hold of only a small proportion of thinking Hindus, while the vast majority re-

¹ For the exposition of these passages, see Deussen, *PU.* 249-53; Oldenberg, *LU* 203-6, Keith, *SS.* 9-14.

² Rhys Davids, *ALB.* 30 ff., Poussin, *WN.* 60.

tained the ancient Vedic polytheistic outlook. This accounts for the Karma Mīmāṃsā, Jainism, Buddhism, and other early atheisms, and also for the emergence of the Sāṅkhya and the Vaiśeṣika at later dates. Two further elements of the intellectual atmosphere of those days render the atheistic attitude of the mass, and the materialistic standpoint of many, more comprehensible, first the world-constraining power credited to the sacrifice in the *Yajurveda*, and secondly the automatic character of the theory of transmigration and karma as usually taught:¹ there seemed to be no need for a ruler of the universe.

It seems most probable that the materialistic school, known in India as Lokāyata for two thousand years, was already in existence.²

It is probable that the Sāṅkhya and Yoga systems appeared, in early forms which we cannot now reconstruct, in the fourth or third century B. C. Dates are very doubtful: all we can be sure of is that the Sāṅkhya comes in the main from the philosophy of the early and the verse Upanishads,³ and that the Yoga, while also indebted to the Upanishads, springs ultimately from popular magic and hypnotism.⁴ Śūdras were admitted to the order of Sāṅkhya ascetics as readily as twice-born men, and both Śūdras and Outcastes could become yogīs, so that from the time of the foundation of these schools the pursuit of release was open to these classes within Hinduism itself.

§ 58 Amongst these clashing systems were two, now known as Jainism and Buddhism, whose principles speedily set them outside Hinduism and made them rival faiths. They were both founded by Kṣhatryas. While both systems recognized all the gods and demigods of the Hindu pantheon, they spoke of them as of little strength and importance as compared with their own leaders. They therefore taught that it was folly to worship them, that the Veda was untrue, and the

¹ Poussin, *WN.* 58.

² Poussin, *WN.* 61; Keith, *JRAS.* 1917, 175, n. 2.

³ Oldenberg, *LU.* 211; Keith, *SS.* Ch. I, Deussen, *AGP.* I iii. 15.

⁴ Garbe, *SV.* 34 ff., Oldenberg, *LU.* 258 ff.

priestly work of the Brāhmins valueless. Both systems offered release to men of every race and caste. It is true that, in order to win release, it was necessary to become a monk. The laity could make a little progress, but could not expect to reach the goal until they accepted the life of renunciation. Yet, even so, this was a great advance on conditions within the school of the Upanishads, in which only men of the three highest castes could become sannyāsīs and press on to release. Hinduism could not fail to condemn both systems as heresies. Jainism is the earlier of the two, but we take Buddhism first because of it we have far fuller and clearer information than of Jainism.

C. *The Buddhist School*

§ 59 Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, the most potent and attractive personality among all the sons of India and one of the greatest of men, was born at Kapilavastu, on the borders of Nepal, almost due north of Benares, about 560 B. C., the son of a nobleman of the Śākya clan. When about thirty years of age, he left his wife, his little son, and his father, and renounced the world. He became a disciple of several teachers in succession, but did not find satisfaction in their teaching and resolved to seek truth for himself. Finally, at the spot now known as Buddh-Gayā, in Bihar, his system took shape in his mind. From this time, somewhere about 525 B. C., until his death at the age of eighty (c. 480 B. C.), he spent all his energy in teaching his principles. He held that the final truth had appeared in him and therefore called himself the Buddha, the enlightened one. Since he was accepted by his followers as a full authority in matters of faith and life, his death must have been an irremediable loss to them. No one was appointed in his place; his teaching must now be their guide. That teaching, preserved in the memories of his disciples and gradually modified and expanded as time passed, finds expression in the Canon.

§ 60. His was an eminently practical system. He regarded

life as full of suffering and believed that his teaching provided the medicine necessary for the healing of men. He taught that the cause of suffering was desire, and sought to show the way whereby desire might be extinguished and release from karma and transmigration and every other form of suffering might be won. He invited men and women to the monastic life, in which under his guidance, as he believed, the *nirvāṇa*, i.e. the extinction, of desire, might speedily be accomplished. Those who reached *nirvāṇa* in this life, at death would enter final *nirvāṇa*,¹ and would not be born again.

He expressed the leading ideas of his system in clear and simple forms, and in the vernacular: all early Buddhist books are in the vernacular. The basis of the whole is given in the Four Noble Truths:

1. *The noble truth of misery.* Birth is misery; old age is misery, disease is misery, death is misery, sorrow, lamentation, misery, grief, and despair are misery, to wish for what one cannot have is misery, in short, all the five attachment-groups are misery.
2. *The noble truth of the origin of misery.* It is desire leading to rebirth, joining itself to pleasure and passion, and finding delight in every existence, desire, namely, for sensual pleasure, desire for permanent existence, desire for transitory existence.
3. *The noble truth of the cessation of misery.* It is the complete fading out and cessation of this desire, a giving up, a loosing hold, a relinquishment, and a non-adhesion.
4. *The noble truth of the path leading to the cessation of misery.* It is this noble eightfold path, to wit, right belief, right resolve, right speech, right behaviour, right occupation, right effort, right watchfulness, right concentration.²

In discussing this path the Buddha explained that it was a middle course which shunned two extremes, the pursuit of worldly pleasures and the practice of useless austerities. The following is the exposition of the eight requirements of the noble path:

1. *Right Belief:* belief in the four noble truths.
2. *Right Resolve* to renounce sensual pleasures, to have malice towards none, and to harm no living creature.
3. *Right Speech* abstinence from falsehood, backbiting, harsh language, and frivolous talk.

¹ Warren, *B.I.* 380.

² From *Dīgha-Nikāya*, 22, as translated in Warren, *B.I.* 368-73.

64. TRANSMIGRATION AND RELEASE

4. *Right Behaviour*. abstinence from destroying life, from taking that which is not given, and from immorality
5. *Right Occupation*. quitting a wrong occupation and getting one's livelihood by a right occupation.
6. *Right Effort*. the purpose, effort, endeavour, and exertion to avoid and abandon evil qualities, and to produce, preserve, develop, and make perfect meritorious qualities
7. *Right Watchfulness*. strenuous, conscious, unsleeping watchfulness, as regards sensations, the mind, and the elements of being, so as to rid oneself of lust and grief and remain free
8. *Right Concentration*. the progressive practice of hypnotic trances through reasoning, reflection, contemplation, tranquillization, intense thinking, and the abandonment of misery and of happiness¹

The path may be summed up as faith in the Buddha's teaching, vigorous intellectual effort to understand it and to apply it to life in detail, and an earnest moral life accompanied with regular meditation and the practice of hypnotic trances.

§ 61. Thus far we may be sure of our ground, but as soon as we ask what the Buddha taught about the nature of the world and man, and what happens in release, we find ourselves in difficulties, since it is impossible to make certain that the Sutta Pitaka, which did not take final form until more than two centuries after his death, really represents his teaching. The prevailing doctrine in the Canon is that everything in the world is transitory, evil, and lacking in an ego,² and therefore that man has no soul. But if man has no soul, it would seem to be fair to conclude at once that there can be no rebirth, and further that, even if some shadowy form of continuity can be conceived which might make it possible to believe in transmigration, final release in these circumstances can only be final annihilation. The Canon is by no means consistent in its doctrine. Transmigration is certainly everywhere taught, but, while the existence of a self or immortal spirit is usually denied, there are passages where the soul is said to exist. Then, although in a few places release is said to be annihilation pure and simple, that is not the prevalent doctrine.

¹ From *Dīgha-Nikāya*, 22. Abbreviated from Warren, *BT.* 373-4.

² These three epithets are in a sense the watchwords of Buddhism. In Ceylon the monk, as he goes his rounds, may be heard muttering, *anichhā, dukkha, anatta.*

Modern scholars have differed greatly in their reconstruction of the Buddha's teaching. The latest exposition, which is by Professor Poussin,¹ strives to do complete justice to all the evidence. He is inclined to believe that Gautama did deny the existence of a soul or permanent entity in man, but he believes he predicated the existence of a sort of substitute for a soul which may be reasonably conceived as a possible basis for transmigration. It is almost impossible to express the idea accurately and clearly in a sentence, but perhaps the following may suggest it. The exposition runs that in our psychical life there exists only the stream of consciousness, with its partial continuity, its imperfect identity, its continuous change; and it is this phenomenal thing that transmigrates, a something which is so changeable as to be no basis for the belief in a permanent soul, and yet has sufficient continuity to make it possible to speak of the individual as transmigrating. Thus man is altogether phenomenal, a composite of fleeting elements, yet rebirth takes place. But, if this is all that transmigrates, must we not conclude that, when transmigration does not take place, the man is annihilated? That seems to be the only possible conclusion. But the Buddha did not usually speak of deliverance as annihilation. In his teaching he eschewed, as far as possible, metaphysical questions as of no practical utility, and, indeed, as obstructions in the path towards the ideal. Hence nirvāna is usually called complete deliverance, and no description or definition of the state is added. Such is Professor Poussin's reconstruction of the history. It would, perhaps, be still better to suppose that the Buddha denied the existence of the soul while he affirmed transmigration and deliverance, and that he refused to enter into any philosophic justification of these positions.

§ 62 Buddhist tradition unanimously declares that a few weeks after the death of the master a great Council was held at Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha, and that there the rules for the monastic life, and also the discourses of the Buddha as

¹ *WV.* 34.

contained in the Sutta Pitaka were rehearsed. All critical scholars agree that the story is unhistorical, and that the growth of the Canon is posterior to the death of the Buddha, but it is quite possible that the disciples assembled after the death of the founder to come to some agreement concerning the principal points of the creed and of the discipline.

Very little is known about the history of the faith or of the community during the next two hundred years. Clearly the movement spread, the literature gradually took shape; and differences of opinion on matters of both faith and practice arose among the monks, but it is not possible to give any comprehensible outline of the events of those years. A tradition is found in the Canon that, one hundred years after the death of the Buddha, a second Council was held at Vaisali, to examine and condemn ten illegitimate practices which the monks of that town claimed to have the right to follow, and a much later tradition declares that the Vinaya and Sutta Pitakas of the Canon were recited here also. Scholars are ready to believe that a Council was held to discuss certain points of discipline and other questions, but the date remains quite uncertain, and the statements about the Canon are unhistorical.

§ 63. About two hundred years after the Buddha's death, however, light begins to fall on the history. Alexander's raid into the Punjab led to a revolution and change of dynasty in Magadha and to the establishment, under Chandragupta, of the first empire ever known in India. The grandson of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya empire, was Aśoka, one of the most remarkable monarchs the world has seen. He seems to have reigned from 273 to 232 B.C. A few years after he became emperor he added Orissa by conquest to his empire. According to his own account, the slaughter and misery which the conquest occasioned caused him such acute distress and repentance that he became a Buddhist and decided to wage no more war. Many scholars believe that at a later date he actually became a monk, at least for a short time.

The conversion of Aśoka made the fortune of Buddhism,

for, being a man of conviction and energy, he set about using the wealth, authority, and influence of his great position for the spread of the religion which he had adopted. He spent vast sums from the imperial revenue in erecting Buddhist buildings. The use of stone for architecture and sculpture seems to have begun in India about this time. Consequently, the earliest stone buildings erected on the soil of India dowered the Buddhist faith with a magnificent series of artistic monasteries, temples, and relic-mounds. He sent out monks as missionaries of the faith throughout the length and breadth of India, and also to Ceylon, to Burmah, to the Himalayas, to Afghanistan, and beyond. Great success followed both within and without the bounds of the empire. Ceylon became a Buddhist country, and along the southern slopes of the Himalayas, in Kashmir, and in eastern Afghanistan the faith took firm root. The emperor also prepared simple sermons for his people and had them cut on rocks by the side of pilgrim and trade routes, or on monumental pillars set up in prominent places, so that he might preach to the millions of his subjects and his neighbours. Laws were made to compel men to live in closer accord with the Buddhist ideal, and Government officials were required to help the imperial propaganda in the ordinary course of their duties.

§ 64 Tradition runs that a Council held at Patna during his reign for the settlement of several questions of faith and discipline, accepted the Tipitaka (Sansk. Tripitaka), the Buddhist Canon in three baskets, *Piṭaka*, or divisions, as under:

1. The *Vinaya*, or Discipline Basket, containing the rules for the life of monks and nuns.
2. The *Sutta*, or Sermon Basket, consisting in the main of dialogues and sermons.
3. The *Abhidhamma*, or Teaching Basket, containing chiefly manuals for the training of monks and nuns.

Is the tradition credible?

The following facts must be recognized. In the third century B.C., the Canon existed only in the memories of the

monks and nuns; and it must have been in Māgadhi, the vernacular of Magadha and of the imperial capital, Patna. No portion of this original Māgadhi Canon survives, but the Ceylonese Canon, from which European scholars obtained their knowledge of early Buddhism, purports to be the identical books accepted at the Council. The language, however, is *Pāli*, a literary tongue which is believed to have been developed at a later date from several vernaculars, but especially from Māgadhi and which was used by Ceylonese Buddhists for the literature of their faith alone. The Pāli Canon was reduced to writing in Ceylon in the first century B.C.; and in the later history it is but the Canon of the Vibhajjavādīn school of Ceylon, and of others dependent on it. It is practically certain that this Pāli Canon and the later Sanskrit Canons of North India were derived independently from the Māgadhi original.

As to the relation of the Pāli Canon to the texts of the third century B.C., the position of advanced scholarship is probably best represented by Poussin, who, while acknowledging that the Vinaya and Sutta Pitakas which we possess are on the whole very much the same as the early Māgadhi texts, yet holds that numerous changes were probably introduced in the time of oral transmission and in the process of translation into Pāli, and roundly declares that 'the apostolic or conciliar origin of the Abhidharma¹ is a pious fraud'². He points out that, while all the schools acknowledged a Canon in two parts, the Vinaya and Sutta Pitakas, only two schools, namely the Vibhajjavādīns of Ceylon, who used Pāli, and the Sarvāstivādīns, who probably belonged to Kashmir, and used Sanskrit, possessed an Abhidhamma Piṭaka, and the two collections are wholly independent. Consequently, we can recognize only the Vinaya and the Sutta Piṭakas as belonging to this period.

Further, if a General Council had been held in Patna, it could have been held only with Aśoka's permission and

¹ Abhidhamma in Pāli.

² *Opinions*, 44.

co-operation, and it would then almost certainly have been mentioned in his inscriptions. His silence thus suggests a serious doubt about the whole tradition.

§ 65. The central source of the Vinaya is the *Pātimokkha*. Twice every month the monks of every district met in solemn assembly, and the 227 articles of this Confession were recited aloud one by one, the reciter asking after the repetition of each rule whether any monk had been guilty of any transgression. The Confession with its Commentary forms the first book of the Vinaya, the *Sutta Vibhaṅga*. The second part is the *Khandakās*, the treatises, i.e. the *Mahāvagga* and the *Chullavagga*, which give rules for every part of the life of the monk and the nun. In both these parts of the Vinaya there are numerous stories and tales which are of extreme interest for the life of the Buddha and the early history of the Order. The third part, the *Parivāra*, is a scholastic list of subjects of little interest, probably a late addition to the Canon.

§ 66. The *Sutta Pitaka* is of far greater interest. Here one enters into the life of ancient India and makes friends with people of every type, enjoying the simplicity, the humour, the kindness of the peasant, listening to teaching of every sect, reverent and coarse, wise and foolish new and old. Here we see religion in the process of being made and unmade. Everywhere walks the Buddha, supreme in his humanity, his fine gentlemanliness, his caustic wit, his quiet reasonableness, his radiant personality, winning his way among all classes of men by the moderation of his teaching and discipline, his feeling for human need, and his firm conviction that he has actually stormed the citadel of truth. The contents of this *Pitaka* fall into five main groups.

I The most attractive and most valuable of all the groups consists of *dialogues and sermons*. Nearly all are said to come from the Buddha himself, but a few are attributed to his immediate disciples. Each has a brief introduction, telling where and in what circumstances tradition said it had been uttered. These beautiful pieces of literature are to be found

mainly in the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas, but many fragments are scattered throughout the other collections. A number of dialogues are so full of the power and simplicity of genius that we can readily believe that they reflect with great faithfulness the teaching of the Master, many of the great phrases which form the basis of the teaching also unquestionably come from him, and probably also some of the brief poems which glow like gems amid the more sober prose; but a very large number of the pieces are clearly of later origin, created at various times to meet the needs of the Order or of the lay community.

II. The next group *centres in the Buddha*. There is no life of the Master in the Canon, but there are many biographical passages in both the Vinaya and the Sutta Piṭaka,¹ which were later combined to form biographies of the Buddha in Ceylon and India. In these narratives he is sometimes regarded as purely human, only exalted to wondrous powers by his enlightenment, but in many places he is spoken of as a demigod, and in others he is raised far above all the gods. The doctrine of karma and rebirth leads to the belief that he was gradually prepared for his final enlightenment in his previous births. Hence in the Book of Lives, the *Jātaka*, we have 550 mythical narratives of previous lives, and in the *Charīyāpīṭaka* 35 more, all set out as edifying stories for the Buddhist reader, a literature of extraordinary variety and interest. Further, since truth does not change, Buddhists began to believe that in the earlier ages the same teaching must have been proclaimed by other Buddhas. The outcome of this was a long series of Previous Buddhas. At first there were only three, then six, then twenty-four, then twenty-seven, but finally they became innumerable.² They are parallel

¹ The *Mahāvagga* in the Vinaya Piṭaka, the *Mahāparinibbāna* and *Mahāpadāna* suttas of the Dīgha Nikāya, suttas 26, 36, 123 of the Majjhima Nikāya, and the *Dhammachakkapavattana* sutta of the Samyutta Nikāya.

² *Mahāpadāna Sutta*, *Buddharvamsa*, *Nidānakathā*, *Lalitā Vistara* Waddell in *JRAS.* 1914, 677.

with the Jain Tīrthakaras and the incarnations of Vishnu and of Śiva

III The third group consists of *short religious poems*, ejaculations, epigrams, psalms. The habit of giving expression in verse to the loftier moods of the monastic life seems to have begun with the Buddha himself, and was cultivated with very great success by many generations of pious monks and nuns. There are four collections of these poems, the *Dhammapada*, the *Udāna*, the *Thera Gāthā*, and the *Therī Gāthā*, but, besides these, numerous examples are scattered throughout the Canon

IV. The fourth group consists of *edifying narratives and ballads*, which vary very much in literary and didactic worth. They seem to have been exceedingly popular among the Buddhist laity, but for us they have their chief interest as stores of folk-lore. In the *Mahāvagga*, the suttas of the Majjhima Nikāya, the *Apadāna*¹ and also in the *Jātaka*-book are numerous tales, and in the Samyutta Nikāya and the *Sutta Nipāta* many stories in verse and ancient ballads.

V The fifth group consists of *magic texts*, charms against snakes, evil spirits, demons, &c. The *Khuddakapāṭha* and the 32nd sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya consist of texts of this type.

The early Buddhist church was, essentially, the double monastic order, yet there was a large laity also. The duties laid on them were, in the main, attention to the teaching of the Buddha, a really good moral life, the practice of *ahiṃsā*, i.e. non-injury to animals, and liberality to the monks and nuns. But from a very early date reverence for the Buddha and his chief followers led to the beginnings of a cult². Each stūpa, erected over relics of the Buddha or of a noted preacher, became a place of pilgrimage and adoration. The hall in which the laity heard instruction from the monks had

¹ The word *Apadāna*, Sanskrit *Avadāna*, means a heroic deed, and is used of stories about Buddhist saints. This collection is in verse.

² The Buddha's attitude to Hindu priests and their sacrifices was so scornful that we may be certain that he established no ritual cultus among his disciples

a stūpa set up in it to stir devotional feeling, and many symbols of Buddhist faith and practice received fervent adoration. In the time of Aśoka each great stūpa and chaitya became a splendid work of art, and music, shows, and processions were added to earlier observances, so that Buddhist worship began to rival the spectacular attractions of Hindu temple-worship and sacrifice.

§ 67. The Edicts of Aśoka form one of the most interesting of all Buddhist documents. They may be most conveniently studied in Dr Vincent Smith's *Asoka*. The great Buddhist Mission carried to so much success during his reign is described in them from the point of view of the Emperor who organized and supported it, while the Chronicles of Ceylon describe it from the standpoint of the monastic community who provided the missionaries. The edicts show the extreme interest which the Emperor took in the expansion of the religion, not only among Hindus but also amongst the jungle-folk of India and foreign nations. They also enable us to see that he made large use of the imperial officials in order to spread amongst the people a knowledge of Buddhism, of the Emperor's faith in the religion and of his desire that it should be widely adopted. One inscription names seven passages in the Canon which he recommends for study, his favourite texts. He lays very great stress on the virtue of saving animal life, and tells how he has restricted animal sacrifice by law and also the slaughter of animals for food. He was almost a vegetarian himself. Instead of the royal hunt, his Majesty now undertook religious tours to visit religious men and sacred places. One edict gives orders that monks or nuns who seek to create schism in the Buddhist church shall be unfrocked. This was probably published immediately after the Council at Patna, if such a council was held. An inscribed pillar also informs us that the Emperor had enlarged for the second time the Stūpa of Kanakamuni, one of the previous Buddhas.

Very little distinctive Buddhist teaching occurs in these edicts, except the insistence on the sacredness of animal life

It is peculiarly noticeable that there is no single mention of *kaïma* and transmigration in them, and not the slightest allusion to *nirvāṇa*. Since the *Arthasāstra* shows the same features, we are probably justified in concluding that *kaïma* and rebirth had not as yet laid serious hold of the common people in eastern India. The Emperor urges all men to practise the law of piety, first because of the good results which it produces in this world, but above all things because such conduct creates merit, and secures the other world for the pious man. Ordinary morality stands in the foreground, reverence to parents, relatives, teachers, and all religious men, proper treatment of slaves and servants, truth-speaking, liberality, gentleness to all living creatures. Similarly, toleration of all creeds, and liberality to ascetics and teachers of all denominations, are repeatedly recommended. The edicts thus contain scarcely anything which Brāhmans would not approve. Yet the prohibition of animal sacrifice must have been deeply resented.

1) *The Jain School*

§ 68 For many years European scholars believed that Jainism was a schism or branch-system derived from Buddhism, but research has made it clear that the two are independent and that Jainism is the earlier of the two. Mahāvīra, who was a contemporary of the Buddha,¹ belonged to a Kshatriya family of good position, and was born in a town a little to the north of the site of Patna. He became a *sannyāsī* of an ascetic order which had been founded by a man named Pārśva, and developed it into the sect of the Jains. The canonical literature of the sect was not reduced to writing until nearly a thousand years after Mahāvīra's death, and it is as yet impossible to say whether any parts of it come from this period or not, so that it requires much caution to work back

¹ There is much uncertainty about his actual date. Jains themselves give two dates for his death, 527 and 467 B.C., while Buddhist texts represent him as a contemporary of the Buddha, and place his death a few years before the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*.

even to a bare outline of the founder's faith and discipline. A few features of the system, however, stand out with such distinctness that we should almost be justified in accepting them as primary without further evidence; statements found in early Buddhist books about the founder, his sect, and his teaching corroborate the Jain evidence very clearly on a number of points, and the relation between early Hinduism and early Hindu asceticism, on the one hand, and Jain beliefs and ascetic rules, on the other,¹ is so patent that we need not hesitate to accept the chief lines of the tradition as historical. These are the original atheism of the system, and the beliefs, that there are souls in every particle of earth, air, water, and fire, as well as in men, animals, and plants, and that, for the attainment of release, the practice of certain very severe austerities, *tapas*, the strictest abstinence from the destruction of life in any form, and the keeping of a number of moral rules are necessary. Monks and nuns had to pluck their own hair out by the roots, and were not allowed to drink cold water nor to bathe. After twelve years of rigorous austerities they were encouraged to commit suicide by self-starvation, if they chose to do so. The system is more closely allied to animism, hylozoism, and early ascetic practice than any other belonging to the period. The severe austerities and the rule of *ahimsā*, non-injury to both vegetable and animal life, both come from the discipline of the Vānaprasthas.² Mahāvīra organized the laymen and the laywomen of the community as well as the monks and the nuns. Only ascetics could hope to win release at once, but a faithful lay-life prepared the soul for becoming an ascetic in a future life. On the laity were laid simple moral rules and easy austerities, and it was then special duty to support the monks and the nuns. Mahāvīra did his work in the vernacular, and the Canon is in an old vernacular to this day. Amongst the many titles conferred on him, *Jina*, conqueror, was one of the most prominent. Hence his followers are called *Jaina*, Jains.

¹ Jacobi, *SBE* XXII. x, xxii ff., *ERE* VII 465

² See § 30

We may be certain that Jain worship arose in much the same way in which the Buddhist cult developed; for at later dates the two are absolutely parallel.¹

§ 69. Of the history of Jainism during these centuries we know very little. There seems, however, to be reason to believe that from an early date a distinction tended to arise among the monks of the community, which finally led in the first century A.D. to a great schism. The question at issue was whether the monks should wear white robes or discard all clothing. This division of opinion disturbed the early life of the community in some degree. When the schism actually came, the Jains fell into two sects, the Śvetāmbara or White-clothed, and the Digambara or Sky-clothed, i.e. naked, and the division remains to-day.

The Jains have a tradition that Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya Empire, was a Jain, that a famine broke out in Magadha during his reign, and that thereupon he abdicated his throne and went south with a great company of Jains under the leadership of Bhadrabāhu to Śravana Belgola in the Mysore country, where he became a monk and finally died by self-starvation. If the story is true, the date of the migration would be about 298 B.C.; for his son Bindusāra succeeded to the throne about that date; but, as its earliest attestation is an inscription at Śravana Belgola of rather a late date, scholars are very much divided with regard to its trustworthiness.²

§ 70. Tradition also says that, towards the end of the twelve years of famine, the sacred books were collected in a council of monks held at Patna, under the presidency of Sthūlabhadra. They are said to have been twelve in number and to have been called 'Anga', i.e. 'limbs', members of the body of scripture. The last Aṅga consisted of fourteen books which contained the utterances of Mahāvīra himself, while the first eleven were composed by his followers. Bhadrabāhu, who is said to have led the

¹ See § 121 and § 123.

² V. Smith, *EHI.* 146.

migration to the south, is believed to have been the author of three of the canonical books and of *niryuktas*, i.e. brief comments, on ten of them. The last Anga is irremediably lost, but the Śvetāmbaras declare that the eleven Aṅga, which form the first division of their Canon to-day, are the identical books collected at the Council. The Digambaras, on the other hand, who confess that they no longer possess the original Canon, deny that the eleven Śvetāmbara Anga are genuine. All modern scholars acknowledge that there are many archaic elements in these Śvetāmbara books, and in particular that the accounts of Mahāvīra, the early community and its beliefs and practices, which we have already dealt with, are in the main at least historical. It thus seems to be clear that parts of the existing Anga must have been handed down orally with considerable fidelity for a thousand years, for they were not reduced to writing until about A.D. 500.

The problem set by the Anga is of a very complicated character. Their language is not the original Māgadhī, in which works recited and arranged at Patna in the third century B.C. must have been composed, but a later dialect akin in some respects to Māgadhī, but modified under the influence of the speech of the west of India, where the work of codification and writing was carried out about A.D. 500.¹ Further, there are clear proofs that they have undergone extensive alteration since then. Critical study has not yet gone far enough to make the solution of this most intricate problem possible. Thus, while it is probably true that a number of books were collected and recognized at Patna, no one can yet say what precise relation the canonical books bear to those original works. Weber holds that the existing books were formed between the second and the fifth centuries A.D., but Jacobi is inclined to think that parts of them may have come down from the Patna Council comparatively little changed.²

¹ See below, § 181.

² Weber in *IA.* XVII. 289, 342, XX 24, Jacobi, *Kalpa-sūtra*, Intro., *SBE.* XLV, p. xl, Keith, *JRAS.* 1915, 551

There is certainly no body of Jain literature belonging to this period to place beside the Buddhist *Tiṭṭaka*.

§ 71. That the Jains were an important body in the time of the Maurya emperors is perfectly clear from the way in which Asoka refers to them in one of his edicts.¹ The community have also a tradition that a grandson of Aśoka named Samprati reigned after him, and treated the Jain community with as much favour and munificence as his grandfather had shown to the Buddhists, but Samprati himself and the whole story are not known from any other source;² so that the truth of the narrative is extremely doubtful.

¹ Pillar Edict VII, in V Smith's *Asoka*, 193. But Hoenle's theory, that the *Ājivikas*, who are mentioned in the same edict and who received costly caves from Aśoka and his grandson, were Digambara Jains (*ERL* I 259), is probably erroneous (Bhandarkar, *JL* XLI 286).

² V Smith, *ERI* 192-3, 440.

CHAPTER III

THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS THEISM

200 B. C. TO A. D. 200.

§ 72. The Hindu movement towards theism shows two distinct stages, and a corresponding though not identical evolution within Buddhism takes place in two unfoldings also, and also at the same times. Great political changes form the background to those religious events.

Early in the second century B. C. the Maurya empire fell. A Hindu dynasty, the Sunga, took its place at the capital, Patna, and doubtless annulled Aśoka's laws against animal sacrifice, while on the now contracted western frontier crouched Bactrian Greeks, Parthians, and Scythians, waiting to spring at the central empire. Under the Hindu dynasty arose new texts of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* in which Rāma and Krishna walk the earth as divine incarnations. In Buddhist works of the same period the Buddha appears as a semi-divine being with new attributes.

The Scythian race called Kushans seized all the western frontiers of India soon after the Christian era, and about the middle of the century conquered the Hindu government at Patna, and thus formed a vast empire stretching from Central Asia to the Gangetic plain. Not long after these events, as it would seem, the *Bhagavadgītā* arose, in which Kṛishṇa is represented as a full incarnation of Vishnu and as the eternal Brahman of the Upanishads. Vaishnava theism was thus formed; and other sects hastened to follow the great example. About the same time, or a little later, Mahāyāna Buddhism was formed, in which the Buddha almost became an eternal god.

It seems clear that the wealth and general culture of the times created a strong and intelligent body of laymen, as distinct from the monastic orders. Literature, philosophy, and art all show great activity; and both Hindus and Buddhists found it necessary to modify their standards and prepare fresh literature to meet the needs of the cultured layman.

One of the greatest happenings of these centuries is the spread of Buddhism to Persia, to Turkestan, and to China.

i. HINDUISM

A. *The Twice-born and their Literature.*

§ 73. No addition of any importance seems to have been made during this period to the literature of the Vedic schools except a number of new Upanishads. The sacrificial discipline of each school still consisted of *Mantṛa*, *Brāhmaṇa*, and *Sūtra*, with probably the further help of the *Karma Mīmāṃsā* system, while the *Āraṇyaka* and the *Upanishad* formed special courses. The *Upanishads* which made their appearance during the period fall into two classes, of which only the first attach themselves quite naturally to the original *Vedānta* texts. Of these there are three, the *Prasna*, *Maitrāyaṇa*, and *Māndūkya*, the *Maitrāyaṇa* belonging to the *Black Yajus*, the other two to the *Atharvaveda*.

§ 74. It seems to be clear also that already about the middle of our period, there existed a work which summed up the teaching of the *Upanishads*, and was thus a forerunner of the famous but far later *Brahma-sūtra* of Bādarāyaṇa. That at least seems to be the natural inference from the reference in the *Bhagavadgītā*¹ to *Brahma-sūtrās* and from the occurrence of the descriptive phrase *sarvopaniṣadvidyā*, i.e. 'the science of all the *Upanishads*', in the nearly contemporary *Maitrāyaṇa Upanishad*.² It is most likely that it was the example of the *Karma-mīmāṃsā*, which undertakes to unify

¹ XIII. 4

² II 3.

and sum up the teaching on sacrifice, that led to the exposition of all Upanishad texts in similar fashion. The ancient Kāima-Mīmāṃsā text of those days and also the original Upanishad manual were early lost, eclipsed by the classical documents of the next period.

§ 75. Thus far we have dealt with the legitimate literature of the Vedic schools. The second class of Upanishads have not the same standing. They fall into three groups, each related to a special type of ascetic, but all diverging in some degree from the original Vedānta texts. These are the Sannyāsa, Yoga, and Śaiva Upanishads. All were finally attached to the *Atharvaveda*, but in rather irregular fashion.

§ 76. It is clear that from some early date in the period there existed a document belonging to the Sāṅkhya philosophy. It is also probable that, besides the Yoga Upanishads already mentioned, an orderly exposition of the Yoga system existed. The Vaiśeṣika, the Nyāya, and the Chārvāka systems must have each had a fundamental text. But these five all stood outside the Vedic schools and were regarded as more or less aberrant. The growth of the epic, which is discussed below, affords an opportunity of setting these works in historical connexion with the rest of the literature.

§ 77. The increasingly complicated curriculum taught in each Vedic school rendered it impossible for the student to master all the subjects taught; and the result was that schools for the study of special subjects, such as grammar, law, and politics, were established. The law schools are of especial interest, as their labours were of large practical value for the twice-born layman. Their method seems to have been to take the Dharma-sūtra of some Vedic school and modify it in some degree, so as to make it suitable not for members of that school alone, but for all twice-born men. The Dharma-sūtras of Gautama and of Vāsisṭha, already included in our study of dharma in our last chapter, seem to have undergone this process.

§ 78. But verse was the medium for popular literature.

during this period, and many of the old laws in their sūtra-form were ambiguous. Hence in the schools it became customary to express the old sūtras in ślokas. The most famous of all Indian law-books, the code of Manu, is a work of this kind, and took shape during the period. It is probable that it was founded on the Dharma-sūtra of the Mānavans, one of the sūtra-schools of the *Black Yajurveda*. The time of the creative activity of the Mānava law-school seems to have been contemporary with the gradual growth of the didactic epic. About the time when this latter was completed, or rather later, the labours of the school culminated in a great law-book in verse, the text of which thereafter underwent very little change.¹ Law-books in verse, in contradistinction to the older treatises in prose sūtras, are called sāstras. Hence, the full name of the text is the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*, popularly known as the law of Manu, and usually said to be fabulously old. It is to be noted that this law-book and others of the same class were meant for the twice-born only. They are of special interest here because of their importance for the twice-born householder.

This great code registers several advances in Hindu religious law. Here, and also in the contemporary didactic Epic, the ideal is laid down, though it is not made compulsory, that the twice-born man should pass through the four *āśramas* in order, i. e. the life of the celibate student, the householder, the hermit, and the monk. No widow, not even a virgin child-widow, may remarry: her duty is to live an ascetic life. The twice-born may still eat flesh, but there are many restrictions.

§ 79. During this period there arose among twice-born householders a religious distinction which was destined to last throughout the history of the religion. As we shall see in our study of the Epic, there was a group of the twice-born on whom the worship of Viṣṇu by temple and image had laid hold with such force that they tended to refuse to

¹ Hopkins, *GE*. 19

recognize the other gods of the pantheon. Another group stood in a similar relation to Śiva¹. Now the ritual of temple-worship had not sprung from Vedic sources, but apparently from ancient forms of worship traditional among Śūdras.²

It was thus inevitable that those who remained loyal to the ancient sacrificial worship should condemn the exclusive cult of Vishnu and of Śiva as doubly heterodox, because its ritual was not Vedic, and because it did not worship all the gods.³ Doubtless, there were many among the orthodox even at this early date who had a god whom they specially favoured, yet this did not affect their orthodoxy, for they freely acknowledged all the others.

From this time, therefore, we must recognize among the twice-born *the orthodox*, who are faithful to the Vedic pantheon and ritual, and *the sectarians*, who exalt one god to the neglect of the rest, and in his cult use a ritual and liturgy of non-Vedic origin. The position of the sects was greatly strengthened by the appearance of the *Bhagavadgītā*,⁴ which provided the Vaishnava with a theology, and led to the formation of a similar system for the worshipper of Śiva. These devoted sectarians still kept up the Vedic forms of worship in their domestic ceremonies, and observed the rules of caste with great strictness. Indeed, throughout their history they have sought to prove themselves orthodox Hindus, and in some cases with considerable success.

§ 80. It is probable that the mass of Śūdras belonged to no sect, but worshipped now one god, now another. That certainly has been the position of the mass of the Hindu people for many centuries. Doubtless there would be a certain number of intelligent Śūdras who would share the strictly sectarian position with their twice-born brethren, just as there is to-day, but they would scarcely be regarded as heterodox, since they were not allowed to perform the ancient sacrifices.

¹ Patañjali calls them Śivabhāgavatas, devotees of Śiva, and speaks of the stress they lay on the worship of images. *Mahābhāṣya* on P V ii. 76

² See § 51.

³ Chanda, *JAR.* 99

⁴ See § 86.

B. *The Epics.*

§ 81. The movement towards theism within Hinduism has the ancient god Vishnu for its centre. Two stages are very distinctly visible in the movement, and both are reflected in the growth of the epic poems.

The original heroic poem called the *Mahābhārata*, which celebrated the fall of the Kuru family through the wiles of the Pāṇḍus directed by Kṛishna, underwent considerable transformation and enlargement. The leading feature of the epic in this, its second stage, is that the Pāṇḍus are now regarded as the heroes of the epic, and, unlike former kings, they are represented as emperors ruling the whole of India. We also find mention in the poem of Yavanas, Pahlavas, and Sakas, i.e. Greeks, Parthians, and Scythians. The mythical Pāṇḍu empire is probably a reflection of the Maurya empire, while the mention of Greeks, Parthians, and Scythians would seem to point definitely to the time of the Śungas. According to the statement of the epic itself, the poem consisted of 24,000 stanzas¹ at this stage, and modern scholars estimate that the epic kernel of the whole work runs to about 20,000 stanzas.²

We now turn for a moment to the *Rāmāyana*. The five books of Vālmiki's original work are to-day preceded by one book and followed by another which are clearly of later date. Here also we meet with Yavanas, Pahlavas, and Śakas; so that these additions cannot be dated earlier than the Pāṇḍu form of the great epic.³

§ 82. The religious phenomena of both epics are also significant. In the new parts of both, the religion is still polytheistic and sacrificial, but the prominent divinities are now Brahmā, Vishnu, and Śiva. It seems as if in the popular mind the three stood on an equality.⁴ Still more noteworthy is the fact that Kṛishna and Rāma, the heroes of the two

¹ I. i. 81, 101, 105.

² Hopkins, *ERE* VIII 325 a.

³ Jacobi, *R* 28 f., 50, 64, Macdonell, *SL* 304 f.

⁴ For the old religion at this stage, apart from the incarnation doctrine, see Hopkins, *RI* ch. xix.

epics, are now represented as partial incarnations of Vishnu,¹ while ancient deeds of divine might have been transferred from Indra and other old gods to Vishnu.² In these facts we have the first clear indication in Indian literature of the rise of something like an organized sect within Hinduism. Vishnu has now a group of worshippers who exalt him to a place of special honour, and this group has been able to seize and claim for itself the heroes of both the popular poems. A distinct polemic against Buddhism may also be traced in the new form of the *Mahābhārata*.

§ 83. These facts seem to point to the conclusion that the transformation of both poems took place after the fall of the Maurya empire. It is scarcely likely that a large work glorifying Hindu kings, and describing a triumphant Hindu empire, would have made its appearance under Buddhist emperors, far less that they would have tolerated direct attacks on Buddhism, while the publication of the ancient poems in these new and most attractive forms would be quite natural under the patronage of a Hindu monarch who had restored old liberties and re-established the sacrificial ceremonial.³

The two epics thus became religious works, glorifying the god Vishnu, and ever since that time they have been regarded as Vaishnava scriptures. But Vishnu was not yet elevated to the position of the Supreme. A perusal of the first book of the *Rāmāyana* will show that, while his followers praised him as the best of the gods, they still thought of him as one of the old divinities, a being similar in nature to Śiva, Brahmā, and the rest. This is but the first stage of the movement towards theism.

§ 84. We do not know how the Vaishnavas were led to

¹ Macdonell, *SZ* 286, 305, *Rāmāyana*, I. xix.

² Holtzmann, *MBH* I 10. The dwarf, Vāmana, is in the *Rāmāyana* said to be an incarnation of Vishnu, I xxxi.

³ Hopkins, *GE* 399. Inscriptions belonging to the second and first centuries B.C., which mention Vāsudeva, i.e. Krishna, fit in well with this conception. Bhandarkar, *VS*. 3-4.

develop the doctrine of divine incarnation. The idea appears suddenly in the literature, and there is nothing in earlier Hindu thought that would seem to be a natural and sufficient source of the conception.¹ It may be that they were led to it by the example of the Buddhists, who, as we have seen, had already raised Buddha to divine powers and honours, and had created a series of precedent Buddhas stretching away into the distant past. So Kṛishna and Rāma with the Dwarf are now conceived as divine, and they already form a short series. for Rāma is held to have appeared at a much earlier date than Kṛishna, and the Dwarf precedes Rāma.

§ 85 We now pass to the consideration of the second stage of the movement toward theism, as reflected in the epics. Scholars believe that, during the first and second centuries of the Christian era, the large masses of didactic matter² which are found in certain sections of the *Mahābhārata* as it stands were added to the epic of 24,000 stanzas which we have just discussed. This fresh material consists in the main of discourses on Religion, Philosophy, Politics, and Law.³ Books XII and XIII of the epic, as we have it to-day, consist almost entirely of this material, and masses of it are found also in Books III, V, VI, XI, and XIV. These numerous pieces of teaching are clearly of various date and authorship, and their critical study has not yet proceeded far enough to enable us to arrange them in chronological order; yet certain differences in date stand out quite clear. This whole mass of new material is usually called the didactic epic,⁴ to distinguish it from the real epic and the episodes. Scholars believe that it arose in the eastern section of North India.⁵

¹ Yet the idea that a god may temporarily take the form of an animal or a man was clearly present in early Hindu minds, for in the Brāhmanas there occur the stories of the fish and the dwarf. These tales may have helped in the evolution of the new conception. Indeed the Dwarf became one of the recognized avatāras of Viṣṇu.

² Hopkins, *GE* 387, 398, *ERE* VIII. 325 ff.

³ 'The sacred law, the best manual of polity and a guide to salvation', is what the epic itself says, I. 62, 23.

⁴ Hopkins also calls it the Pseudo-epic.

⁵ Hopkins, *GE*, 78

C *The Bhagavadgītā*

§ 86. The earliest, and also the greatest, of all the sections that form the didactic epic is the far-famed *Bhagavadgītā*. The date of this poem has caused endless discussion. Its own statement is that it was uttered by Krishna and Arjuna on the fateful field of Kurukshetra just before the fighting began, and that is the Hindu tradition to this day. Mr Justice Telang believed that it belonged to the fourth century B.C.,¹ and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar argues in favour of the same date,² but most modern scholars recognize that, in its present form, it can scarcely be earlier than the first or second century A.D. What is perfectly clear is that it is later than the fresh material of the second stage of the two epics, and earlier than the rest of the documents of the didactic epic.³

§ 87. The poem is a very remarkable one, and has had an immeasurable influence on religion in India. There is no other piece of literature that is so much admired and used by thinking Hindus; and it has won very high praise from many Western thinkers and scholars. Numberless editions, in the original and in translations in many tongues, fall from the press. But it becomes still more remarkable and interesting when one realizes its historical origin. It is the expression of the earliest attempt made in India to rise to a theistic faith and theology. In order to reach this ideal, the Vaishnava sect identify their own god Vishnu, on the one hand with the great Brahman-Ātman of the Upanishads, and on the other with Krishna, the hero of the Epic. There is a double exaltation here. Until now Vishnu has been but one of the gods of Hinduism, in nature indistinguishable from the other members of the pantheon, though in the two centuries before our era he held a high position among them beside Brahmā and Śiva. Now he is declared to be the Absolute,

¹ *SBE*. VIII. 34.

² *VS* 13.

³ Holtzmann, *MBH*. II. 121, Hopkins, *GE* 205, 225, 384, 402, Keith, *SS* 33, 34.

the One without a second, the source of all things and all beings. Krishna, who had been recognized as a partial incarnation of Vishṇu in the second stage of the Epic, is now declared to be a full incarnation of Vishnu-Brahman, and receives the title Bhagavān, blessed Lord. Hence the name of the poem, *Bhagavadgītā*, the Lord's Song. Each of these changes is an advance towards theism. The identification of Brahman with Vishṇu distinctly suggests that the Absolute is personal; and the contention that the same Brahman is fully represented by a being who walked the earth in human form bodies forth the personal idea in the most vivid way possible. The change is most revolutionary. Let the student once more read some of the loftiest passages of the ancient Upanishads with the new thought in his mind.

§ 88 But the poem seeks not only to create a theism but to bring a spiritual religion within the reach of all Vaishnavas. The Upanishads had taught cultured Hindus to aim in their religion not at rewards on earth or a sensuous heaven, but at release from transmigration, and Buddhism and Jainism had attempted, in their heterodox way, to stimulate all classes to the same high endeavour. The *Gītā* shows us the reconstitution of the Vaishnava sect under the pressure of these powerful movements. The precise limits within which this is done must also be noticed. The Upanishads as taught in the Vedic schools offered release only to the three highest castes, for these holy texts might not be uttered in the hearing of any but the twice-born; Buddhism and Jainism, on the other hand, offered release to all, to Outcastes and foreigners as well as to Hindus of the four castes, and to women as well as men, but the *Gītā* takes a middle course, offering release to all Hindus, i.e. to men and women of the four castes but to no others. It is noticeable that these are precisely the bounds of the sect, all Hindus of the four castes were admitted to Vaishnava, as to other Hindu, temples. But there is another and still more revolutionary change. In all earlier systems release was possible only for those who gave up the ordinary

life of man and became professional ascetics. In the *Gītā* release is made available for the layman and his wife while they maintain the household and take part in the business of the world. These two radical changes necessitated a fresh book: the *Gītā* was written to become the layman's Upanishad. It may also be said with truth that the *Gītā* is a worthy successor to the old Upanishads.

§ 89. The *Gītā* sets forth three distinct ways in which release may be won. The first is the JÑĀNA MĀRGA, or way of knowledge, as taught in the Upanishads and the Sāṅkhya philosophy, and in a modified way by Buddhism and Jainism. The second is the KARMA MĀRGA, or way of works. The earliest conception of religion in Hinduism was a system of duties, summarized in the word dharma. The most prominent of these works in the early days were the sacrifices, but all the duties of caste and condition, of the family and society, were also included. The *Gītā* doctrine of works, which is called Karma-yoga, is this, that the mere performance of the works ordained in Scripture wins only the transient rewards on earth or in heaven that are promised for them, but that the man who does these works without any desire for the rewards will thereby win release. The word Yoga is used in so many senses in the *Gītā* that it is hard to decide which of them is implied in the phrase Karma-yoga, but it probably comes from the radical meaning 'restraint'. The third, BHAKTI-MĀRGA, the path of devotion, is a new method of winning release. It is simply this: that whole-hearted devotion to Krishna brings release from transmigration as effectively as philosophical knowledge or the selfless performance of ordained duties.

The method of devotion is the link between the ancient cult of the sect and the new teaching of the *Gītā*. For the whole-hearted devotion which brings release finds its most natural and most vivid expression in the regular worship of Krishna in the temples of the sect.¹ The cult would have

¹ Cf. IX. 6 with XI. 46.

a new dignity to thinking Vaiṣṇavas, since it would henceforward be to them not a means merely to health, wealth, and happiness, but also to the great spiritual end of the emancipation of the soul from all the bonds of the phenomenal universe.¹ There is just one change in the cult to be noticed. The *Gītā* recognizes no animal sacrifice. The offerings to Kṛṣṇa which it commends are purely vegetarian.² Thus we must conclude that, about the time when the new theology came to the birth, animal sacrifice was given up in the chief Vaiṣṇava shrines. The rule is now universal among Viṣṇuites.

§ 90. It is of great importance to notice that the *Gītā* calls upon all Vaiṣṇavas to keep the Hindu law as taught in the Dharmaśāstras.³ The rules of caste,⁴ the laws of the family, and the regular worship of ancestors,⁵ are all to be strictly observed. It has been often said that the *Gītā* is opposed to caste, but that is a complete mistake. The principles and rules laid down in the poem are luminously clear.

§ 91. One of the most startling features of the poem is the transformation of Kṛṣṇa. In the genuine epic he is a king and warrior, famous as a grim and powerful fighter, but notorious above all things for his extraordinary cunning and his dirty tricks. In the *Gītā* he plays the philosophical guru, quoting the Upanishads and praising the Sāṅkhya philosophy, from time to time he declares himself to be the supreme Ātman,⁶ the source and support of the whole universe, the object of all devotion and the recipient of all sacrifices, and again he displays his indescribable glory before the eyes of his astonished friend.⁷

§ 92. The theology of the poem is a most imperfect theism.⁸ The idea of the writer seems to have been that he could form

¹ IX. 34, X. 10, XI. 54; XII. 2

² IX. 26.

³ XVI. 23; 24; XVII. 1; 5. For the Dharmaśāstras see § 78

⁴ I. 43, II. 31-33, 37, III. 23-6, 35; IV. 13, XVIII. 41-8

⁵ I. 40-44.

⁶ X. 12, 20, VII. 6, 7, 10, IX. 8, 10; 13, XIV. 3, IX. 23-24

⁷ XI. 9-31. ⁸ Cf. Keith, *JRAS.* 1915, 548.

a new Vaishnava system by the mere juxtaposition of the worship of Krishna and the great philosophies of his day, for he does not attempt to modify and fit together these rather incongruous elements so as to create from them a well-articulated theology

This is especially true with regard to the relation of the Vedānta to the Sāṅkhya. The latter system was clearly very popular in those days¹. In contrast with the Upanishads, its chief conceptions seem to have been chiselled and polished to smoothness, and carefully fitted together in a system of metaphysical and psychological ideas which any one could readily understand. Further, in it the external world was regarded as a reality, and the soul and its individuality were frankly acknowledged. Thus, in spite of its atheism,² these Sāṅkhya conceptions seemed to fit better into a theistic theology than the monistic conceptions of the Upanishads. The Yoga also was popular, but whether it had yet become a theistic system is not known.

The author brought the three together, declared them identical, and placed them beside Krishna, the incarnation of Vishnu viewed as the Absolute. These divergent conceptions are not fused into a higher unity but are superimposed, so that the effect is like a composite photograph. Here and there are theistic passages;³ from other sections a stark pantheism stares out,⁴ and now and then the lines seem to suggest an emanation theory and several gods.⁵ Not is anything done to lessen the gulf that yawns between the actionless Brahman of the Upanishads and the incarnate god, born to slay demons and to teach philosophy.⁶

§ 93. What unquestionably gives the *Gītā* its power is the representation of the Supreme as incarnate and as teaching

¹ Hopkins, *GE*, 99f

² See *Gītā*, XVI. 8, which certainly alludes to a *nirīśvara* system. So Hopkins, *GE*, 105

³ IV. 5-7; VI. 47, IX. 22-34, XI. 36-46, XII. 14-20, XVIII. 55-70

⁴ II. 72, IV. 24, V. 24-26.

⁵ III. 15, VII. 30, VIII. 3-4; 20-21, XV. 16-18.

⁶ IV. 8

the loftiest philosophy of India to his friend Arjuna, so that he and other simple laymen may find release. The portrait of the incarnate One is drawn with great skill; the situation in which the teaching is given enforces certain of the lessons taught with great vividness; and the literary qualities of the book are well worthy of the teaching it contains. The *Bhagavadgītā* is a very great work.

§ 94. It is of importance to realize that, though the teaching of the *Gītā* is now the very cream of orthodoxy, it was in some respects heterodox when the poem was written. This comes out most clearly in the section of the second book,¹ where the Vedas are spoken of with some scorn, and in several passages elsewhere in which the opponents of Krishna are very vehemently criticized. The fact is that the poem sprang from the young Vaishnava sect, the heterodox position of which is explained above.² At a later point an attempt will be made to show how the *Gītā* came to be regarded as orthodox.³

§ 95. The poem bears traces of having been rewritten,⁴ but two very different theories of its origin are held by scholars. Accepting Bhandarkar's theory of the origin of the worship of Krishna,⁵ Garbe⁶ attempts to explain the inconsistent theological teaching of the *Gītā* by the hypothesis that it was originally written, early in the second century B.C.,⁷ on the basis of the Sāṅkhya-Yoga system, as a theistic tract to glorify Krishna, and that it was contaminated with the pantheism of the Upanishads in the second century A.D. He analyses the poem into what he believes to be these two sources. A few scholars⁸ have accepted this theory, but most would probably

¹ 41-46.

² § 79.

³ § 144.

⁴ Hopkins, *GE* 205, 234.

⁵ See above, § 50.

⁶ *Die Bhagavadgītā*, Leipzig, 1905, also *IC* 228 ff.

⁷ This date is partly based on the belief that the *Yoga-sūtra* was written by the grammarian Patañjali in the second century B.C., but since it is now clear that the *Yoga-sūtra* dates from the fourth century A.D. (see below, § 139), the theory seems very improbable. See Keith, *SS* 30.

⁸ Winternitz, I. 373; Grierson, *ERE* II 541; and Chanda, *JAR* 98.

follow Hopkins and Keith¹ in saying that the analysis is altogether unconvincing. It is much more likely that the *Gītā* is an old verse Upanishad, written rather later than the *Śvetāśvatara*, and worked up into the *Gītā* in the interests of Kṛishnaism by a poet after the Christian era.

A careful comparison of the *Gītā* with the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*² in ideas, language, and verse would probably help to solve the problems presented by both poems. A number of writers have believed that the *Gītā* distinctly betrays Christian influence, but it seems rather more probable that the poem is purely of Indian origin.³

§ 96. The *Bhagavadgītā* is the key to the whole of the didactic epic. Its chief characteristics reappear in nearly all the remaining religious documents added to the great poem in the third stage of its history. Even in the few places where Kṛishna's claim is denied, and Śiva, or Sūrya, or Brahma is glorified as the one God, the influence of the *Gītā* is still supreme, for the mode of exaltation is borrowed directly from the Song: it is only the name of the god exalted that is altered.

D. The Philosophies

§ 97. The *Maitrāyaṇa Upanishad* probably arose about the same time as the *Gītā* or rather later and it is certainly earlier than the didactic epic, for in two passages its teaching and language are clearly reflected⁴. We therefore take the Upanishad as standing between the two. Along with it we take the *Praśna* and *Māṇḍūkya* Upanishads. The former is clearly earlier, and the latter later, than the *Maitrāyaṇa*,⁵ but probably no long time intervenes in either case: for in their doctrine of the sacred syllable *Om* they are very closely

¹ Hopkins, *JRAS* 1905, 384, Keith, *JRAS*, 1915, 548. Deussen also rejects the theory.

² See *SBE* XXI. xxvi, xxxiv, and below § 125.

³ For all the theories and a summary of the evidence, see Garbe, *IC* 244 ff.

⁴ Hopkins, *GE* 33 ff.

⁵ Deussen, *PU*, 25

connected. The *Maitrāyaṇa* alone is of serious significance for the evolution of religious ideas. Professor Keith thus writes¹.

The Upanishad clearly reflects a period when various forms of heresy — probably in no small measure the Buddhist—had attacked the main outlines of the system of the Upanishads, and it endeavours to restate that position with, as is inevitable, many traits borrowed from the doctrine it was refuting, and among these traits are clear marks of the Sāṅkhya. It is characterized by a profound pessimism which is not countenanced by the older Upanishads, which lay no stress normally on that doctrine, but which is characteristic at once of Buddhism and of the Sāṅkhya.

§ 98 Sāṅkhya conceptions, similar to those found in the *Gītā* and the *Maitrāyaṇa*, appear also in the didactic epic, and betray the existence of a formed system, an atheistic dualism, enunciating twenty-five principles, extremely like the classic form of the philosophy presented in the *Sāṅkhyā Kārikā*, but not identical with it.² The Yoga reflected in the *Maitrāyaṇa* is more detailed than that found in any earlier Upanishad, but the epic shows a still more advanced stage.³

§ 99 The Yoga philosophy which appears in the *Arthasāstra* may not have contained the theistic element which occurs in the classic system, nor do we find any conclusive evidence of the existence of the theistic form in the *Gītā*. But in the latest parts of the didactic epic there is frequent mention of the theistic system of Yoga,⁴ though in a form less complete than that of the *Yoga-sūtras*.⁵ As the *Chūlikā Upanishad* presents the theistic Yoga in the simplest form which we know, we are justified in assigning it to a place near the *Gītā* and before the latest parts of the epic, and since the Sāṅkhya conceptions of the *Chūlikā* stand in very close relation to those of the *Maitrāyaṇa*, the two Upanishads probably belong to very nearly the same time.⁶

¹ SS. 13.

² Deussen, *SUV.* 312-13, Hopkins, *GE* 97-133, Keith, *SS.* 11-13, chap. III.

⁴ Hopkins, *GE* 97-138; Keith, *SS.* 55.

³ Hopkins, *YT.* 335 ff.

⁵ Hopkins, *YT.* 335, 336.

⁶ Deussen, *SUV* 637

But the *Chūlūkā* is clearly not the only Yoga-manual that existed in our period. Among the many teachers of Sāṅkhya and of Yoga named in the didactic epic two seem to be historical, Pañchaśikha and Vārshaganya.¹ Numerous references to them occur in the classic documents belonging to the two schools, and a few quotations are embedded in the *Yoga-bhāṣya*,² and in Vāchaspatimiśra.³ The evidence is very confused, so that it is hard to make sure of the truth. Probably the most satisfactory solution is to conclude that both authors belonged to the school of theistic Yoga, that Vārshaganya was the author of the *Shashtitantra* (i.e. the Sixty-treatise), a famous work now lost, which seems to have been in verse,⁴ while Pañchaśikha wrote a manual in sūtras,⁵ which is also lost. These works and the *Chūlūkā* probably belong to the group of Yoga treatises referred to in the epic.⁶ Another interesting tradition which appears in the epic is that Pañchaśikha is the teacher of the new Vaiṣṇava sect, the Pañcha-lātras,⁷ whom we shall have to deal with below.

§ 100 There are also two groups of short Upaṅśads of rather later date which were clearly meant to be practical manuals for monks of the Vedānta and Yoga schools. The first group glorify *sannyāsa*, the world-renunciation of the Vedānta, and describe the initiation and the life of the sannyāsī, while the Yoga group describe the six elements of Yoga discipline (later they became eight) and give special attention to meditation on the sacred syllable *Om*. These treatises are clearly posterior to the *Maṭrāyaṇa* and the *Chūlūkā*, and earlier than the *Vedānta-sūtras* and the *Yoga-sūtras*. They are probably to be regarded as of the same general date as the didactic epic, where many of their features reappear, but some may be still later.

¹ XII. 218; 319 f.

² Woods, *Yoga*, 359-60, also *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, 70.

³ *Sāṅkhya-tattva-kaumudī*, 206

⁴ Keith, S.S. Chap. v. Cf. Schrader, *ZDMG* 1914, 101-10, *IPAS* 110 ff.

⁵ Keith, S.S. 42.

⁶ XII. 301, 57, 340, 67, Hopkins, *GE.* 100, 110.

⁷ Hopkins, *GE.* 144, but see Keith, S.S. 39.

Of the Sannyāsa group¹ which are mostly in prose, the *Brahma* and the *Sannyāsa* are composite, their earliest portions being quite as early as the *Maitrāyaṇa*, if not earlier. The later parts of these tracts and the *Āruṇḍya*, *Kaṇṭhaśruti*, *Jābāla*,² and *Paramahansa* do not differ much in age, and are probably not later than the chief documents of the didactic epic, while the *Āśrama* may be of later origin.

The Yoga³ group are all in verse, and all follow the lead of the *Chūhka*. The earliest seemingly is the *Brahmabindu*, which may be as early as the *Maitrāyaṇa*. The main group, consisting of the *Kshurikā*, *Tajobindu*, *Brahmaṇḍyā*, *Nāda-bindu*, *Yogasikhā*, *Yogatattva*, *Dhyānabindu*, and *Amritabindu*, run parallel with the main Sannyāsa group and the didactic epic,⁴ while the *Hansa* is later and of indeterminate date.

§ 101. The Vaiśeṣhika and Nyāya philosophies were already in existence in the first century A D. Both are mentioned by Charaka,⁵ court physician to king Kanishka; and Aśvaghosha⁶ his contemporary, and Nāgārjuna⁷ who came later, mention the Vaiśeṣhika. Both are reflected in the didactic epic, but the evidence is too slender to enable us to see what the form of either system was.

E. The Didactic Epic.

§ 102. The main didactic epic is believed to have been practically complete by 200 A D.⁸ It deals with a variety of subjects, but three are of more importance than the rest, Politics, Law, and Religion. Philosophy is included under religion, and ethics partly under law and partly under religion.

§ 103. The compilers of the didactic epic introduced a considerable body of political teaching into their cyclopaedia.

¹ Deussen, *SUV* 678-715.

² This is clearly a shortened and modified form of an early Upanishad belonging to the *White Yajus*. See Deussen, *SV* 11, *SUV* 706.

³ Deussen, *SUV* 629-77.

⁴ Thus Hopkins, *YT* 379, says that the Yoga-technique of the epic is on a par chronologically with the *Kshurikā*.

⁵ *Saṃhitā*, III 8, 26 ff., Keith, *JRAS.* 1914, 1093.

⁶ Winternitz, II i. 209.

⁷ Hopkins, *ibid.* 387, *ERE.* VIII. 325.

⁸ Woods, *Yoga*, xviii.

The first half¹ of the twelfth book is almost wholly given to the subject, and shorter pieces occur elsewhere.² The relation of this teaching to Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*,³ to later political treatises, and to the actual state of affairs at the time of the epic,⁴ does not seem to have been yet worked out by scholars.

§ 104. It was natural that the Vaishnava priests, who in the interests of their sect turned the ancient epic into an encyclopaedia of instruction, should wish to include in it a body of law, and that they should choose the new popular form of law in verse. It is also of interest to remember that their constituency included Śūdras and women as well as twice-born men,⁵ and even people lower than Śūdras.⁶ The legal material is found chiefly in the thirteenth book⁷ of the *Mahabhārata*, and shows a very close relationship to the *Mānava Dharma-sāstra*. Hopkins⁸ writes

In all probability the code known to the later epic was not quite our present code, but it was a code much like ours and ascribed to Manu, a Sāstra which, with some additions and omissions, such as all popular texts in India suffer, was essentially our present text.

F *Vaishṇava Material in the Dharma Lipi*

§ 105. Since the transformation of the epic into an encyclopaedia of religion, law, and politics was carried out in the interests of the Vaishnava sect, nearly all the religious sections are devoted to the exposition of the theology first sketched in the *Bhagavadgītā*, and to the praise of Kṛṣṇa. The second half of the twelfth book, known as Mokshadharma, is a sort of corpus of Kṛishnaite teaching, containing a number of pieces of distinct origin, and there are noteworthy sections also in Books III, V, VI, XIII, and XIV. Four of these

¹ Chaps. 1-173.

² I. 87, 140-5, II. 15, 17, 25; 62, III. 32, 33; 159; IV. 4, V. 33-4, 36-9; XIII. 13, XV. 5 ff.

³ See above, § 45

⁴ *Gītā*, IX. 32.

⁵ Numerous pieces of legal lore are found elsewhere, especially in the first and twelfth books.

⁶ *GE.* 22-3

⁷ *GE.* 22-3

⁸ *GE.* 22-3

portions are of such outstanding philosophic and religious interest that they are frequently selected for separate treatment

V. 40-45 Sanatsujātīya.

VI. 25-42: Bhagavadgītā

XII. 174-367 Mokshadharma.

XIV. 16-51. Anugītā.

There is one chapter¹ in the thirteenth book which is greatly treasured by devout Vaishnavas, because it contains the thousand names of Vishṇu, and one chapter in the third book² contains a panegyric of Vishṇu by Bhīma, and another, in the political portion of the twelfth book³, contains a hymn of praise to Vishṇu sung by the great Bhīshma.

We have already discussed the *Gītā*. One considerable section of the Mokshadharma⁴ is known as the Nārāyaṇīya and seems to reflect a later period in the history of the Viṣṇuite sect. It will therefore be discussed separately along with a passage from the sixth book,⁵ which seems to contain similar teaching. The other portions fall to be considered here.

The leading ideas here are the same as in the *Gītā*. We are taught that the highest religion is the worship of Krishna as Vishṇu, who is the Brahman of the Upanishads. The Sāṅkhya and the Yoga systems are represented as being essentially the same as the philosophy of Brahman, and all three are taught as philosophic foundations for the Vaishnava religion. There is no care taken to describe any one of these systems with precision, and no articulated Vaishṇava theology is taught. As in the *Gītā*, there are large pieces of a Sāṅkhyan character, others that teach Yoga, and yet others that reflect the monism of the Upanishads. The Sanatsujātīya (V. 40-45) is the most important monistic section. Numerous passages teach slightly variant philosophic systems in which Sāṅkhya, Yoga, and Upanishad elements intermingle interminably. The student may scan these outlines in Hopkins's

¹ 149.

² 271.

³ 48.

⁴ Chaps. 335-52.

⁵ Chaps 65-8.

Great Epic.¹ The *Anugītā* is a direct imitation of the *Gītā*. In these passages theology makes no perceptible advance, but the pictorial myth of Śeṣha, Viṣṇu, and Brahmā appears, and six incarnations of Viṣṇu are mentioned, the Boar, the Man-lion, the Dwarf, the Fish, Rāma, and Kṛṣṇa.

§ 106. We now take the Nārāyaṇīya,² which shows a later stage of Vaiṣṇava teaching. The ancient name Bhāgavata occurs, but Sāttvata.³ and Pāñcharātra,⁴ especially the latter, appear more frequently. There is a Pāñcharātra scripture⁵ compiled by the seven Cṛitāsikhaṇḍin Ṛṣhis, doubtless the forerunner of the Saṁhitās which we shall discuss later.⁶ The origin and meaning of the word Pāñcharātra are not yet known with certainty.⁷ We have shown above in what precise respects the sect was heterodox.⁸

In the Nārāyaṇīya occurs the doctrine of Vyūha or expansion, according to which Viṣṇu exists in four forms. The doctrine⁹ is that from Vāsudeva springs Saṁkarṣaṇa, from Saṁkarṣaṇa Pradyumna, from Pradyumna Aniruddha, and from Aniruddha Brahmā. Saṁkarṣaṇa and the three others are then identified with the cosmic existences posited by the Sāṅkhya philosophy thus

Vāsudeva	. the supreme Reality
Saṁkarṣaṇa	. primeval matter, <i>prakṛti</i> .
Pradyumna	. cosmic mind, <i>manas</i>
Aniruddha	. cosmic self-consciousness, <i>ahamkāra</i> .
Brahmā	. . . Creator of the visible world, the <i>bhūtāni</i>

It is very difficult to make out what the idea behind this scheme is.¹⁰ Vāsudeva is Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, or Saṁkarṣaṇa,¹¹ is Kṛṣṇa's brother, Pradyumna his son, and Aniruddha one of his grandsons. It is probable that these three were local

¹ Chap iii

² XII 335-52

³ XII. 349, 29

⁴ XII 336, 25; 349, 82, 350, 63

⁵ XII 336, 28; 349, 82, 350, 67

⁶ § 212

⁷ See Schrader, *IPAS* 24 ff

⁸ Above, § 79

⁹ See Schrader, *IPAS*. 35 ff, Chanda, *IAR* 109 ff.

¹⁰ See Schrader, *IPAS* 39 ff

¹¹ Saṁkarṣaṇa means 'Withdrawn', because he was drawn out of his mother's womb and placed in Rohiṇī.

divinities, that an arrangement was made to bring them into relation with Kṛishna so as to form a combined sect, and that the doctrine of the Vyūhas is a theologism created to give them a permanent place in the teaching and the worship of the community

The Nārāyaṇīya shows also an advanced stage of the incarnation doctrine. There are ten incarnations of Viṣṇu recognized here,¹ while in the earlier lists² there are four, or six.

Hopkins³ holds that Pañchaśikha, the teacher of the Sāṅkhya-Yoga, a theistic form of the Sāṅkhya philosophy, as we have seen above,⁴ was regarded by the Pāñchaīātyas as the author of the philosophical teaching of the sect. This is interesting, because the Vaiṣṇava theology unquestionably rests on a Sāṅkhya-Yoga basis

This passage, the Nārāyaṇīya, tells a story to the effect that Nārada took a long journey to the north, where he came to the Sea of Milk, in the midst of which was White Island, inhabited by white men who worshipped Nārāyaṇa, i.e. Viṣṇu.⁵ The men, their beliefs, their sanctity, and their worship are described. A number of scholars have believed they detected distinct traces of Christianity in the passage, and the question has been much discussed, with rather doubtful results.⁶

§ 107. The two epics borrow from each other at this period.⁷ There are a number of interpolations in the text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which are clearly contemporaneous with the didactic epic, one passage containing a copy of the description of the inhabitants of White Island.⁸ These latest interpolations are mostly in the seventh book, but the most important of all is a canto in the sixth,⁹ in which Rāma is praised as a full incarnation of Viṣṇu, and is called the eternal Brahman.

¹ XII 340, 100.

² Above, § 84.

³ GE. 144.

⁴ § 99.

⁵ XII 336, 8-9.

⁶ See the theories and the evidence, Gaipe, *IC* 191-200.

⁷ Hopkins, *GL*. 59, 72.

⁸ Cf *R* VII. 77 with *MRH* XII 336.

⁹ VI 119; see Muir, *OST*. IV 148 ff. The other most noteworthy passages are VII. 6, 17, 57, 75-7, 110.

The same theological conceptions are here applied to Rāma as are applied to Kṛishna in the didactic epic. We have already seen that Rāma is recognized as Vishnu in the Krishna-epic. Similarly Krishna is recognized in these late interpolations in the *Rāmāyana*.¹

§ 108. It is important to notice what stage the Krishna legend has reached in the didactic epic. We are told that he was born in Mathurā to kill Kamsa and other demons, and that after he had done that he went to Dvārikā in Kathiawar. His parents' names, Vāsudeva and Devakī,² are given, but the story of his birth and of his being miraculously saved from the wrath of Kamsa is not told;³ and there is nothing to suggest that the child Krishna was worshipped in those days. Nor is there the slightest hint that he was brought up among the cowherds of Gokul. The stories of his boyish tricks with the cowherds, his youthful sports⁴ among the Gopīs, and his killing of the demons in the cow-settlement, which are so prominent in the *Harivaṁśa* and the Purāṇas are absent here except in a few passages which are manifestly very late interpolations.⁵ Rādhā is not mentioned at all.

¹ VI 119, VII 50

² II 14, 34-50, XII 340, 86-7

³ VII. 114, XVI. 7

⁴ We must note carefully, however, that the story of the death of Kamsa is very old, for it was already dramatized in the second century B.C., as Patañjali tells us

⁵ But in XIII. 149, 88, one of his names is 'he who sports joyously on the banks of the Jumna'.

⁶ Thus II. 68, 41 b to 46 a, which calls Krishna 'Lord of Vraja' and 'favourite of the milkmaids', is clearly a very late piece interpolated into a very early section, for it makes Draupadī appeal to Krishna for help in her frightful need, while the original says that Dharma, the god of law and right, stood by and helped her. Garbe's argument (*U.* 227) is thus of very doubtful value. Similarly, in II 41, Śiśupālā, in abusing Krishna, calls him 'the cowherd' and says that Bhīshma has praised him for killing Pūtānā and the vulture and other notable deeds, but, when we turn to Bhīshma's praise of Krishna in chap 38, there is no mention of Pūtānā, or the vulture, or any other of these exploits. Thus at least verses 4-11 of chap. 41 are an interpolation. Bhandarkar, *VS.* 35 f. It is probable that these local legends had been long current in Mathurā. The point we emphasize is that they had not been accepted into the official body of Vaishnava teaching when the didactic epic was formed.

G. *Śaiva Material in the Didactic Epic*

§ 109 In the didactic epic Śiva takes quite as subordinate a place as he does in the heroic poem. Scholars seem to be agreed that the passages in the late books¹ which exalt and praise him are, on the whole, later than the mass of Vaiṣṇava teaching, and indeed it seems most probable that the changed Śaiva theology which those passages show was formed in direct and conscious imitation of the New Vaiṣṇavism.

The Śaiva sections consist, in the main, of narratives,² hymns of praise,³ and expositions of the new Śaiva theology.⁴ The narratives, which tell how this or that hero went and praised Śiva, in order to receive from him some heavenly weapon of war of peculiar effectiveness, are of minor interest.

The hymns of praise are valuable because we see the new teaching reflected in them most clearly. The greatest of these hymns⁵ sets forth the one thousand and eight names of Śiva. A Śaiva copy of the thousand names of Viṣṇu.⁶ In these ascriptions of praise one half of the new Vaiṣṇava theology is transferred in the lump to Śiva—there is only a change of names. Śiva is the Brahman of the Upanishads, the Eternal, the Supreme, the source of all gods, all beings, and all things. The other half of Vaiṣṇava theology, the doctrine of divine incarnations, is not carried over. In its place we have divine theophanies. Śiva appears in various human disguises or other forms to test, or teach, or gratify his worshippers.⁷

Pāśupata,⁸ the name of the new Śaiva theology, is thus

¹ The most important are III 38-41, VII 80-1, XII. 284-85, XIII. 14-18, 160-1. The most significant are discussed by Muir, *OS* I IV 150-70.

² III 38-41, VII 80-1. Cf. also X. 7, which may be of earlier origin.

³ VII 80, 54-63, XII 285, 3-115, XIII 14, 283-326, 16, 12-63, 17.

⁴ XII 285, 122-5, 350, 63-6, XIII 160-1.

⁵ XIII 17.

⁶ XIII. 149.

⁷ III 39, 2, VII. 80, 38-40, X 7, 60, XII. 284, 60, &c.

⁸ For the Pāśupata see esp. Hopkins, *GE*. 86, 96; 118, 152-7, 189 n. Cf. what he says on the theistic faith in general, 102-3, 106, 115. The chief references in the epic are XII. 285, 321, 350, XIII 14-18, 160-1.

parallel to Pāñcharātra, the name of the new Vaiṣṇavism. Pāśupata is formed from Paśupati, lord of flocks, an epithet used of Rudra in early literature¹. But the sect gave the word a new religious significance. Paśupati is the Lord (pati), and man, his creature² (paśu), is bound by the fetter (pāśa) of the world, and requires to be released by the Lord. Pāśupata is scarcely distinguishable from Pāñcharātra as a system. Both use the fundamental conceptions of the Sāṅkhya and Yoga, yet are anxious to be in complete harmony with the teaching of the Upanishads. The similarity goes even further, for both number thirty-one philosophical principles, an enumeration which is associated with the name of Pāñchaśikha.³ There is this difference between the two systems that while Vishnu has four forms, Śiva has eight.⁴ The Pāśupata is also heterodox, like the Pāñcharātra⁵.

§ 110. There is one further point to note with regard to Śiva. In a few of the more important Pāśupata passages in the thirteenth book, his phallic emblem, the *linga*, is made the subject of great laudation. No mention of the *linga* occurs in earlier literature;⁶ yet, as is well known, all Śaivas are *linga*-worshippers to-day. The question of its origin has been often discussed, but has not yet been settled.⁷ Archaeologists tell us that *lingas* belonging to pre-Christian dates are in existence, so that they must be earlier than the first mention in literature. The explanation probably is that the *linga* is of aboriginal origin, as *śiśnadeva* of the *Rigveda* implies, that it passed into popular Hinduism and into sculpture at an early date, but did not receive Brahmanical recognition until after

¹ *White Yajurveda*, XVI. 28, *Atharvaveda*, XI ii 28, *Aśvalāyana G.S.* iv. 8, *Pāraskara G.S.* iii 8, Barth, *RI.* 164.

² The figure comes from the farmer with his beast and the rope with which it is bound. 'Creature' must not be taken literally: the soul is eternal and uncreated.

³ Hopkins, *GE.* 152 ff.

⁴ Hopkins, *GE.* 143

⁵ *MBH.* XII 285, 124, Hopkins, *GE.* 114

⁶ Except the *śiśnadeva* of the *Rik*

⁷ Kittel, *Ueber den Ursprung des Lingakultus*; Barth, *RI.* 271, Hopkins, *RI.* 150.

the Christian era. It had been already accepted when the Pāsupata system was formed.

§ 111. In two of these passages¹ the phrase *ūrddhva-linga* occurs, in one of them *sthira-linga* is found,² in two *ūrddhva-retas* occurs;³ and in another *mahāśepho nagno*.⁴ These phrases clearly refer to the conception of the god which is represented in the images of the Lakulīśa sect,⁵ yet the name Lakulīśa does not occur in the epic. Since the name means 'the club-bearing god', Fleet⁶ conjectures that the Śiva with a club represented on the coins of the Kushan King Huvishka about A.D. 125-140 is Lakulīśa, but the name may be later than the coins.

§ 112. There is an Upanishad, the *Atharvaśiras*,⁷ which is a Pāsupata document, and is probably of about the same date as the Pāsupata passages in the epic. Rudra-Pāsupatī is here the first principle of all things, and also the final goal, pati, paśu, pāśa, are all mentioned; the yoga method of meditation on the sacred syllable *Om* is recommended; and the use of ashes for smearing the body is called the Pāsupata ordinance. Three other Śaiva Upanishads, the *Arthavaśikhā*,⁸ the *Nīlarnutra*, and the *K'arvalya*⁹ may belong to the same time.

ii. BUDDHISM.

A. *The Ilīnayāna.*

§ 113. We must think of Buddhism at the beginning of this period as active and spreading in most parts of India and Ceylon, and also in Burmah, along the Himalayas from Nepal to Kashmir, in Afghanistan, and also in Central Asia. In the first century A.D. the religion found a welcome in China, and

¹ XIII. 17, 46, 161, 17, Muir, *OST* IV. 344

² XIII. 161, 11.

³ XIII. 14, 157. Muir, *OST* IV. 160.

⁴ XIII. 14, 212, 17, 46

⁵ See § 165

⁶ *JRAS.* 1907, 419.

⁷ Deussen, *SUV* 716 ff, Muir, *OST* IV. 298-304. There are variant texts of this work. Bhandarkar, *VS* III.

⁸ Deussen, *SUV* 726 ff

⁹ See *MBH* XIII. 160, 4, 22, 161, 23, and above, p. 101, n. 4

about the same time entered Kucha and Khotan in E. Turkistan, and also Persia. Naturally we can trace only in very broken outlines the literary work of the Buddhist Church in its various schools scattered over these wide regions.

The community already had numerous schools of thought,¹ but these distinctions did not create sects - all Buddhists still worshipped together. Of these schools we must now distinctly envisage three, if we are to understand the development, the *Sthaviras*, who were phenomenalists, the *Sarvāstivādins*, who were realists, and the *Mahāsāṅghikas*, who were idealists.

a. *Sthavira Literature.*

§ 114 The *Sthaviras*, the oldest of the schools, were found in North India and predominated in Ceylon. The Pāli books which exist to-day are the Canon of the *Sthaviras* of Ceylon as reduced to writing there in the first century B. C. Hence, if we accept the critical opinion that the *Abhidhamma Pitaka* did not exist in the time of Aśoka,² we must conclude that it was formed somewhere between the two dates. The natural conclusion then is that the seven works of that collection were gradually formed and compiled, either in North India or Ceylon, during the first part of our period. This fresh material is not of the same value or interest as the best parts of the *Sutta Pitaka*. It consists for the most part of dry, unilluminating classifications and definitions of Buddhist terms and ideas, served up in scholastic fashion for the training of monks.³

The Canon was reduced to writing in Ceylon during the first century B. C., but the date cannot be more exactly defined.⁴ Since then the text has been preserved with fan, but certainly not with faultless, accuracy.

§ 115 *The Questions of King Milinda* is the name of a famous book, the main part of which was written in North India, probably in the first century B. C., possibly a little later.

¹ Kern, *B.* 110 f, 123, *ERE* VI 686

² See § 64.

³ Winternitz, II. 1, 134 ff

⁴ Kern, *B.* 120, Winternitz, II. 1, 11

In what language it was originally written is not known. It has been preserved only in Pāli in Ceylon and in two Chinese translations. It is clear from quotations that the Canon which the author used was the same as the Pāli Canon, yet the readings do not agree precisely. The book is much honoured in Ceylon. Indeed it enjoys a consideration and an authority very little inferior to the Pāli Canon itself. Milinda is the Pāli for Menander, a Greek King who ruled in the Punjab and attacked the empire of Magadha, about 155 B.C. According to tradition he became a Buddhist. The book is a piece of apologetic, a dialogue, in which a monk named Nāgasena answers the king's questions about Buddhist faith and practice.

It seems clear that the original work covered only a fragment of Book I with Books II and III. The subjects discussed in those sections are amongst the most important of all Buddhist questions, e.g. *nirvāṇa* and *karma*, individuality and soul, renunciation, faith, perseverance, and meditation, and the style is strikingly beautiful, the expression easy and graceful, and the illustrations exceedingly well chosen. In Books IV to VII a large number of minor questions are dealt with, the style, though still good, lacks the brilliance of Books II and III, and, while the main teaching keeps very close to the Pāli canon, yet the influence of later ideas is visible. A tendency is shown to turn away from the ideal of the Arhat, who wins *nirvāṇa* by a strenuous discipline at once, to the conception of the Bodhisattva,¹ who reaches release by means of devotion in a long career reaching through countless lives.² These last books were probably written much later in Ceylon.

§ 116 All the Buddhist schools of North India which have left literature wrote in Sanskrit or in various forms of what is known as mixed Sanskrit. The origin and history of these literary dialects have not yet been definitely ascertained. Some scholars are inclined to think that they are the work of imperfectly trained men trying to write Pāṇinian Sanskrit,

¹ Lit. 'one whose nature is wisdom', but used technically of one who is destined to become a Buddha.

² See § 124 B.

while others think they are literary modifications of local dialects. There are two facts about them which require to be carefully noted: first, each school seems to have its own dialect, secondly, as time went on, pure Sanskrit steadily won its way in all the schools.

b. *Sautrāntika Literature.*

§ 117. The Sautrāntikas¹ were a branch of the Sthavira school who received their name because of their reliance on the Sutta Pitaka, to the neglect of the Abhidhamma. It thus seems clear that their rise must have coincided with the gradual formation of the Abhidhamma. They formed, in exposition of their teaching, a philosophical system which is called the Sautrāntik philosophy. They believed in the existence of the external world, and held an atomic theory of matter, but taught that perception happens indirectly². Their theory of the self, founded on the original Buddhist conception of man's psychical life,³ proved a stepping-stone from the phenomenalist position of the Sthaviras to the Mahāyāna Philosophy of Vacuity.⁴ The self, they argued, is a long series (*santāna*) of phenomenal elements, each member of which exists only for a moment so infinitesimal that its apparition and destruction may be said to be simultaneous. Each momentary member (*kṣaṇa*) of the series is both an effect and a cause, yet possesses no real activity. Birth, existence, old age, death, are all illusions, for the series is uncreated, uninterrupted. Thus there is no identity, no continuous existence. On the other hand, they declared this self, consisting of a phenomenal series, to be autonomous, for 'all we are is the result of what we have thought'. They also hold the self to be self-conscious, conscious directly of self and indirectly of other things. The scholars with whose name this philosophy

¹ *Sautrāntika* is formed from *sūtrānta*, the Pāli form of which is *suttanta*, a variant of *sutta*.

² Jacobi, *ERE*, II 201

⁴ See § 124 c

³ See § 61.

is connected is Kumāralabdha,¹ a contemporary of Nāgārjuna,² but very little is known about Sautiāntika literature.

c. *Sarvāstivādin Literature.*

§ 118. The home of the *Sarvāstivādin*, i.e. the 'All-things-exist', or realist, school seems to have been Kashmir, but they spread far and wide. Their Canon was in Sanskrit and, apart from the Sthavira, was the only Canon which possessed a third, or Abhidharma, 'basket'. As has been already remarked, the contents of this Abhidharma were absolutely distinct from the Sthavira Abhidhamma. We may be certain that the Vinaya and Sūtra 'baskets' of their Canon were already in existence by the beginning of our period, but it is as yet impossible to say how far they differed from the Sthavira Canon: for we are almost entirely dependent for our knowledge upon Chinese and Tibetan translations, only fragments of the original Sanskrit having survived. They seem to have had also a special literature of their own. Like a number of the other leading schools, they had their own Life of the Master, and it must have been a powerful and popular work, for it was taken over afterwards by the new Buddhism, called the Mahāyāna, and it survives only in its altered form, the most famous of all lives of the Buddha, the *Lanka Vistara*.³

The Sarvāstivādin philosophy, an outgrowth from the realistic teaching of the sect, is an atomic doctrine of matter combined with a theory of direct perception.⁴ Thus, in their speculative teaching, they stood near the Jains and the Vaiśeṣikas, but they denied the eternity of atoms.⁵ The foundation-text of their Abhidharma Pitaka, the *Jñānaprasthāna-śāstra*, is by their most renowned scholar, Kātyāyanīputra. Six ancillary works, called 'the feet' of the Abhidharma, by Vasumitra and other writers, complete the contents of the

¹ Kern, *B.* 127, Poussin, *Opinions*, 178 ff

² See § 128.

³ Nanjio, 159, 160, Winternitz, II. 1 194 ff

⁴ Jacobi, *EEA*. II. 201.

⁵ *Ib.* 202 C.

Pitaka The date of these books is not yet known with certainty. On these works commentaries were then written, which carried the philosophy a step farther. The commentaries were called *Vibhāṣhā*, and hence the philosophy was called *Vaibhāṣhika*. Tradition suggests that the *Vibhāṣhā* arose in the reign of Kanishka.

According to *Saivāstivādin* books, a general Buddhist Council was held, under the authority of Kanishka, at some place in Kashmir, and at the Council commentaries on the three baskets of the Canon were composed, those on the *Vinaya* and *Abhidharma* being called *Vibhāṣhā* and those on the *Sūtra Pitaka Upadeśa*. The traditions about this Council are, however, very untrustworthy, so that some scholars doubt whether it was ever held at all. Others think that a *Saivāstivādin* council was actually held, and that, in imitation of the story of the Council of Aśoka, they called it a General Council. In any case, the commentaries which in the tradition are associated with the Council are *Saivāstivādin*, and a number of them were probably written after the time of Kanishka.

From the *Sarvāstivādin* *Vinaya* and the ancient *Jātakas* there sprang numberless tales of heroic deeds done by Buddhas and saints called *Avadānas*, precisely like the *Apadānas* of the Pāli Canon. Two collections belong to this period, the *Avadāna-śataka*¹ or Century of Tales, and the *Karma-śataka*,² or Century of Deeds. A third collection of great renown, the *Divyāvadāna*,³ or Divine Tales, which probably dates from after 200 A.D., calls itself a *Mahāyāna* work, but is manifestly of *Sarvāstivādin* origin. From these books sprang an edifying literature which flourished for many centuries.

The famous writer Aśvaghosha was a *Saivāstivādin* and probably wrote some of his works before he became a *Mahāyānist*.⁴

¹ Winternitz, II. i 216.

² *Ib* 221; Mitra, 304.

³ *Ib* 221.

⁴ See § 127.

d *Mahāsāṅghika Literature*

§ 119 The Mahāsāṅghikas, one of the very earliest schools, were idealists in Metaphysics. They were inclined to raise the Buddha above humanity, and to identify his personality with that of the former Buddhas. They had a Vinaya Piṭaka and a Sūtra Piṭaka, written in a curious mixed Sanskrit. Of the Vinaya two works still exist in Chinese and Tibetan, and the *Ekottarāgama* preserved in the Chinese and the Tibetan Canons is from the Mahāsāṅghika Sūtra Piṭaka.¹ One of the branches of this school was known as the school of the *Lokottaravādins*, or Transcendentalists, because they believed that the Buddha was not a human being enmeshed in the life of the world, but one raised far above it. A book called the *Mahāvastu*, written in the curious Mahāsāṅghika Sanskrit, has come down to us. It arose in the Vinaya of the Lokottaravādins, but very little Vinaya material now remains in it. The book contains a vast amount of matter of different kinds and also of varying dates—a life of the Buddha, tales and sermons, poems and Jātakas, many of them early compositions, so that it forms ‘one of the most noteworthy books of Buddhist antiquity’. The Buddha-Biography does not differ in any appreciable degree from the narratives of the Pāli Canon, but its theory of the person of the Buddha is distinctly docetic. ‘The Buddha of the Mahāvastu is a superman. He feels neither hunger nor thirst, he lives in ignorance of carnal desires; his wife remains a virgin. It is from consideration for humanity, in order to conform to the customs of the world, that he behaves as a man, or that he gives to men the false impression that he is behaving as a man. In technical terms, he is *lokottara*, superior to the world.’ The work lays great stress on the saving power of

¹ Pāli Sutta Piṭaka.

Sanskrit Sūtra Piṭaka.

1. Dīghanikāya.
2. Majjhimanikāya.
3. Samyuttanikāya.
4. Aṅguttaranikāya.
5. Khuddakanikāya.

1. Dīrghāgama.
2. Madhyamāgama.
3. Samyuktāgama.
4. Ekottarāgama.
5. Kshudrakāgama.

devotion to him. It also names large numbers of former Buddhas, and believes in the existence of many worlds besides our own, in each of which a Buddha reigns concurrently with the Buddha here. The *Mahāvastu* thus forms the bridge between the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna. The chapter called *Daśabhūmika*,¹ which describes the stages (*bhūmis*) through which a man passes in becoming a Buddha is probably a later interpolation. Much of the book is early.²

§ 120. Mātṛicheta was born a Brāhman but became a Buddhist. He was invited to the Kushan court, seemingly by Kanishka, but begged to be excused on account of age. He left two hymns of praise, which were used for centuries by Mahayanists as well as Hīnayanists, and which served as models for later writers. One has survived, and fragments of the other, along with his letter to the king.³ He seems to stand between the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna.

e. Buddhist Worship.

§ 121. From 200 B.C. down to the Christian era the great Buddhist stūpas were enriched with masses of beautiful sculpture. Pious Buddhists were accustomed to walk round the stūpas with reverent steps. Enclosing this path of circumambulation there stood a stone railing with a lofty arched gate at each of the cardinal points. These gates were covered with sculpture, and in certain examples the railing itself was decorated with sculptured plaques and panels. Examples, ruinous or well-preserved, have been found in several places.⁴ In this early work no image of the Buddha appears, but in many of the scenes represented his presence is indicated by some symbol, and all the carved work breathes the spirit of

¹ *ERE.* II. 744f, VIII. 329f.

² Winternitz, II. i. 193.

³ Thomas, *ERE.* VIII. 495, Winternitz, II. i. 211, Nanjio, 1456, Hoernle, *MRBL.* 58-84. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *JASS.* 1910, 425, refers him to the fourth century.

⁴ Notably at Sāñchī in the Bhopal State, at Bharhut in Rewa, at Buddh Gayā in Bihar, at Amarāvati on the Kistna and in Ceylon. V. Smith, *HFA.* 65-81, 86-8.

devotion Here we have the reflection in art of the new spirit which shines out from the literature.

In the first century A.D. a new Indo-Greek art, distinctive above all in its sculptures, arose in Gandhāra, the district of which Peshawar is the centre. Images of the Buddha were for the first time made by these artists; and all the Buddhist schools used them as aids to devotion. This is a noteworthy and far-reaching change.

§ 122 Buddhist monks found it necessary to keep abreast of all the culture of the day, so as to be able to influence the ruling laity. We therefore find them well acquainted with Hindu philosophy and with the new forms of religion enshrined in the Epic. In the last quarter of the first century of our era, the strong government of the Kushan empire, extending far to the west and the north of India, opened the doors wide to Buddhist Missions, and the numerous races the missionaries had to teach, coupled with the rich variety of foreign influences which met in the empire, led to great changes in Buddhist thought and practice.

B. *The Mahāyāna.*

§ 123. These movements, coupled with new ideas and practices which had been gaining ground in the old sects for two centuries, found their culmination in the creation of a new Buddhism called the Mahāyāna, or great vehicle, in contrast with the old Buddhism, which was depreciated as the Hīnayāna, or small vehicle.¹ The Mahāyāna is, on one side, the acute Hinduizing of Buddhism, on the other, the humanizing of the old discipline, so as to make Buddhism more suitable for the cultured Indian layman and for the men of many races now crowding into the community. The rise of this system is probably to be placed in the reign of Kanishka (perhaps A.D. 78-123), towards the end of the first and the beginning

¹ It is probable that Hīnayāna was originally used with reference to Arihatship, the mode of individual salvation, as opposed to Bodhisattva-ship, the plan for the salvation of many.

of the second century, for all tradition points to that time and many Mahāyāna texts were translated into Chinese before A. D. 170¹

The vast literature created by the Mahāyāna does not survive as a definite Canon in the original tongues. Portions of it have been found in Nepal² and fragments elsewhere, but for our knowledge of the mass of the books we have to have recourse to the Chinese³ and Tibetan⁴ Canons.

a. *The Full Mahāyāna.*

§ 124. There are two distinct Mahāyāna systems to be recognized at this time. The first may be called the full Mahāyāna, as it contains all the features of the new Buddhism. They may be summed up under three heads:

A *Devotion* Mahayanists recognize that there are innumerable Buddhas, each in his own world, and innumerable Bodhisattvas, the most advanced of which live in the heavens. Buddhas and advanced Bodhisattvas are fit objects of devotion, and devotion brings its rich rewards. One result of this change was that the Buddhas, though they were still thought of as being in nirvāṇa were regarded as responding in some way to the devotion showered upon them. Their personality and activity consequently became more distinct, until they were thought of almost like Hindu gods. We must recognize here a distinct change in the conception of nirvāṇa⁵. Thus in that most orthodox Mahāyāna book, the *Saddharma Puṇḍarikā*, Gautama is made almost an eternal being of omnipotent power, who from time to time descends to earth, like Vishnu, to be born in the world of the living. Similarly those Bodhisattvas who are drawing near the stage of final enlightenment

¹ Nanjio, Cols. 381-3

² See especially Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*.

³ Bunyū Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*

⁴ *ERE*. VII. 785, 789; Feer, *Analyse du Kanjoui*, Annales du Musée Guimet, II.

⁵ Thomas, *Buddhist Scriptures*, 15.

are now regarded as mighty divinities living in the heavens, helping men, and actually declining to enter nirvāna in order that they may help men the more.

The Mahayanists created a showy worship, with processions, music, and incense, and a rich liturgy was prepared for each Buddha. The monks took charge of the cult, so that the old chaitya became a temple and the monk a priest.

B *The Bodhisattva Life*¹ The monk of the Hīnayāna sought to become an *arhat*, a man who, by a life of asceticism and meditation in obedience to the precepts of the Buddha, has reached the nirvāna of the extinction of all desire, but he regarded himself as a mere pupil, following the directions of the omniscient Buddha, and never dreamt of becoming a Buddha himself. The Mahāyāna now declared that, to reach real release, it was necessary to acquire the perfections and the omniscience of the Buddhas, and that, though the upward struggle would take an incalculable number of ages, the goal was within the reach of every human being. Each person, man or woman, was therefore exhorted to take at once the vow to become a Buddha, and the assurance was given that the power of that vow was sufficient to bear them through the innumerable births and serious sufferings which lay before them. If they began a life of active benevolence, and sought to rouse within themselves the desire to save all creatures, they would pass through the ten stages (*bhūmis*) of the career. Since the end was certain, each person who took the vow at once became a Bodhisattva, one destined to become a Buddha. The influence of the Jātakas, which contain narratives of numerous acts of incredible self-sacrifice done by Gautama in his earlier births, is very manifest in the new conception. Since Gautama was believed to have lived as a householder for countless lives, celibacy was not a necessary element of the discipline. Neophyte Bodhisattvas, both men and women, were encouraged to marry, but they were allowed to acquire merit by living the monastic life for a time, if they cared to do

¹ Poussin, *ERL*, art. 'Bodhisattva', and VIII. 33 f., *Opinions*, 275 ff

so. On the other hand, the Mahāyāna prohibited the eating of flesh.

C. *The Mahāyāna Philosophy of Vacuity.*¹ The early denial of the existence of the ego and the Sautiāntika doctrine, that the ego consists of an endless series of infinitesimal moments, led to the formulation of the doctrine that there is no real existence, that all things are but appearance, and are in truth empty. This is the famous doctrine of *śūnyatā*, Vacuity. The young Bodhisattva cannot see the truth of this doctrine, but in the course of his progress to Buddhahood he will come to realize it, for it is the sum of the wisdom of all the Buddhas.

§ 125 A large literature was produced by this school during our period. Amongst these works is one of the greatest of Buddhist books, the *Saddharma Pundarikā*,² 'The Lotus', or, as we should say, 'The Rose of the True Religion'. The book probably appeared towards the end of the first or the beginning of the second century,³ but six of the chapters of the work as it has come down to us (xxi-xxvi) are of later origin. The original work contains the whole Mahāyāna system. The most noteworthy element is the way in which Gautama the Buddha is represented. According to the old teaching, he has gone to nirvāna and can no longer have any relations with the world of men. Here he is represented practically as an omnipotent God, whose life is limitless before and after, in whose hands are the universe and all creatures, who dwells continually in infinite glory. It is true he also teaches the Buddha-laws, but his birth, life, teaching, and death are but an appearance, and his passing away into nirvāna is but a device to lead men to accept the Buddha-laws. The influence of the Vedānta and of the *Gītā* are very prominent here. The conception of Kṛishna-Vishnu as the

¹ ERE. art. 'Madhyamaka'.

² ERE. art. 'Lotus of True Law', Winternitz, II. i. 230-8; Kern, SBE xxi.

³ Winternitz puts it about A.D. 200; Poussin in the first century, *Opinions*, 259.

Supreme is adapted to Buddhist conceptions. Many of the titles are borrowed unchanged, Supreme Spirit, Self-existent, Great Father, World-Father, Ruler of the Triple World, Creator, Destroyer, Physician. He is Everlasting, All-knowing, All-seeing. He wields magic power, *māyā*, which he uses in sport, *līlā*. He is repeatedly born in the world of the living. When men become unbelieving, he appears in this world to save. Yet, although Buddha in the *Lotus* is practically the Supreme, the language is so carefully guarded throughout that Prof. Poussin can say, 'There is not a single word in the *Lotus* which is not capable of an orthodox, i.e. "atheist" interpretation'¹. The work had large influence in India, whence it passed to China and Japan, and later to Nepal. It is the most popular of all Buddhist books in Japan to-day.

§ 126. The philosophic doctrine of Vacuity was taught in a large number of books, short and long, called the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*,² i.e. 'the sūtras of the wisdom-perfections' of the Buddhas. Of these the *Daśasāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*,³ i.e. the 'Ten-thousand-line Sūtra', belongs to our period. This work also describes the ten stages (*bhūmis*) of the Bodhi-sattva career. The chapter called *Daśabhūmika* 'interpolated into the *Mahāvastu* probably comes from this time also.

§ 127. Aśvaghosha⁴ was born of Brāhman parents, but became a Buddhist, first of the Saivāstivādin school, but finally of the Mahāyāna. His splendid genius proved of signal service to Buddhism, for he is a most notable figure in Sanskrit literature, and one of the greatest of the predecessors of Kālidāsa. He was equally distinguished in epic, dramatic, and lyric poetry. His greatest work is the *Buddhacharita*, an epic poem on the life of Buddha. Part of it is lost, yet enough remains to show his genius and his art. In its delineation of the life and work of the Buddha, it scarcely

¹ *ERE*. VIII. 145

² Nanjio, cols. 1 to 8; *ERE* IV 838; VIII. 235.

³ Nanjio, col. 381; also no. 5

⁴ See § 119.

⁵ *ERE* art 'Aśvaghosha', *SBE* xlv, Winternitz, II. i 201; H.P. Śāstrī, *JASB*. 1909, 47, Nanjio, col. 369

goes beyond the Pāli Canon, but in freshness and power it stands altogether on another level, the work of a true poet. A second epic, the *Saundarānanda-Kāvya*, which deals with a number of scenes and incidents connected with the life of Buddha, also survives. The *Sūtrālamkāra*, of which a Chinese version and a few fragments in Sanskrit are extant, is a collection of *avadānas*, i.e. Buddhist legends told in mingled prose and verse, the style in common use then for artistic romances. A large number of these stories are old, many are new, but all are graced and heightened by Aśvaghosha's charm. There are two philosophical works ascribed to him, the *Vajrasūchī*, i.e. the 'Diamond-needle', and the *Mahāyānaśāradhōtpādasastra*, the 'Mahāyāna-faith-awakening Treatise', but serious doubts as to his authorship of both works still remain.

§ 128 Nāgārjuna,¹ a Brāhman convert, who became the greatest authority on Mahāyāna Buddhism, is regarded as a younger contemporary of Aśvaghosha in Buddhist tradition, and modern scholars are inclined to place his activity in the latter half of the second century. His chief service was to think out the new doctrine of Vacuity. In those days a philosopher embodied his teaching in a series of aphorisms, either in prose (*sūtras*) or in verse (*kārikās*), and expounded them in a commentary. Nāgārjuna's work is in verse and, as the system is called the middle teaching, *Mādhyamaka*, the book is known as the *Mādhyamaka-kārikās*. The system is called *Mādhyamaka* because its leading idea, 'All things are empty', takes the middle course between existence and non-existence. Two distinct kinds of truth must be recognized, apparent truth, *saṃvṛtīśatya*, and real truth, *paramārthasatya*.² The world appears to be real, but the appearance is an illusion, as empty as a dream; yet we must live in it and in practice take it as real. The actual truth, that all things are empty, seems to us to be folly, but it is the final truth of the

¹ Winternitz, II. i 250-4; *ERE* IV. 838, VIII 235, 336.

² Poussin, *Opinions*, 189 n. 1.

world, and when we rise to the wisdom of the Buddhas, we shall see its truth. Thus we need not hope to find the truth by intellectual activity, but must strive to hear the silence which is neither affirmation nor denial. Thus the Mādhyamaka philosopher has no system; he has only a method. The doctrine is thus a guarded nihilism, a faith in the emptiness of all things which does not profess to see the truth of what it believes, but holds hard by its faith, while it frankly lives on that which it declares to be illusion. The early *Pragñā* texts, and a number of other works are said to be by Nāgārjuna. An extraordinary mass of legends gathered round his head.

b. *The Paradise Mahāyāna*

§ 129. The second type of Mahāyāna doctrine is of a much simpler nature and may be described as the Paradise Mahāyāna.¹ It does not trouble to teach the doctrine of Vacuity, nor does it impose on its followers the long ages of discipline which are required for the career of the Bodhisattva. Every person may easily make certain of being born in his next birth in the Western Paradise, where under the fostering care of a great Buddha named Amitābha he will live for ever in joy and will reach final perfection. One of the chief texts of this school, the longer *Sukhāvatīvyūha*,² or 'Description of the Land of Bliss', was translated into Chinese before A.D. 170, and thus belongs to our period. In this book we hear of many hundred thousands of millions of Buddhas, and amongst them of one named Amitābha, 'measureless light' who lives and reigns in Sukhāvatī, a Paradise of glory and bliss far away to the West, beyond the limits of the world where Gautama lives. When this new Buddha was but a monk, he vowed and toiled for this Western Paradise, and prayed that he might never obtain the highest perfect knowledge, unless it should be possible for all creatures to be born in that Land of Bliss and there reach perfection, wisdom,

¹ Poussin, *ERE*. VIII 331 b

² Nanjio, col 381; *SBE* xlix.

perfect joy, and release. All has now been realized. Amitābha reigns in the wonderful land of bliss, and whoever struggles forward, seeking to make good karma, praying faithfully, worshipping Amitābha with deep devotional feeling, and uttering his name, will be born in that Western Paradise and will live in bliss for ever. A very large part of the book is given to descriptions of the beauties and pleasures of Sukhāvātī.

Of the numerous Mahāyāna texts translated into Chinese during the second century¹ a number of works, in addition to the longer *Sukhāvātīvyūha*, seem to belong to the Paradise school,² but the mass undoubtedly derive from the chief school.

C *Buddhism in China.*

§ 130 Buddhism does not seem to have made rapid progress in China for some two or three centuries, yet it is clear that large efforts were made to win the people. Some reflection of the activities of the Missionaries may be found in the long lists of translations carried out during the two centuries under review.³ Most of the sūtras selected for translation are quite short, and deal with the simpler elements of Buddhist teaching or with practical questions touching life and discipline. They are taken from Mahāyāna as well as from Hīnayāna sources, the first text translated, *The Sūtra of Forty-two Sections*,⁴ being a compendium of Buddhist teaching drawn from many books. There are only four noteworthy translators during the period, and their extraction is significant, two of them, Kāśyapa Matāṅga and Lokarakṣa,⁵ were Indians, An Shī-Kao was a Parthian prince, while Ch'Yao was probably a Kushan.

¹ Nanjio, nos 5, 25, 28, 33, 51, 54, 57, 73, 76, 102, 112, 161, 174, 202, 260, 282, 289, 381, 385-7, 431, 435, 478, 1093, 1326, 1331, 1337, 1338, 1360, 1361, 1368

² Nanjio nos 25, 28, 33, 51, 54, 57

³ Nanjio, cols 379-85.

⁴ Nanjio, no 678

⁵ This man seems to have translated only Mahāyāna works: Nanjio, col 381.

III JAINISM.

§ 131. The history of Jainism remains extremely obscure throughout this period, yet a few facts of large importance can be discerned.

During the two centuries before our era, and probably in still earlier years, the religion expanded steadily both in the north and in the south. Sculptured remains and an inscription found at Muttia, the ancient Mathurā, and assigned to the first century B.C.,¹ reveal to us the growth of Jainism to the north-west; caves with fragments of sculptured frieze in Orissa may date from about the same time,² while the powerful influence which Jainism exerted on Tamil literature from the second century after Christ, if not from an earlier date, shows that the religion had achieved considerable success in the far south. From the Christian era onwards, if not earlier, Jainism spread into Gujarāt; and from the third century the community produced a large popular literature in the vernacular of that part of India.

§ 132. As a result of the long-standing difference of opinion within the community, the Jains at last broke into two sects, Svetāmbaras and Digambaras, about A.D. 80³; so that for the full understanding of the history it is necessary as far as possible to distinguish the writers, books, and practices of the two organizations from this time onward. The main difference between them is the single point, that the Svetāmbaras hold that monks ought to wear white garments, while Digambaras hold that they ought to give up all clothing. Necessarily nuns are found only among the Svetāmbaras. The Digambaras explain that women cannot win release until a good life has brought them the privilege of being born as men, so that they need not become ascetics. There are other minor divergences. The great mass of Jains to the north of the Vindhya were Svetāmbaras, while in the Kanarese and Tamil districts they were nearly all Digambaras.

¹ V. Smith, *HFA* 82; 144; Indrajī, *VIIIth Oriental Congress*, 143.

² V. Smith, *HFA*. 84.

³ Jacobi, *ERE* VII. 473.

§ 133. Jain worship is precisely parallel to Buddhist worship during these centuries. They use stūpas, as the Buddhists do, and the forms of their sculpture are similar, although the art is not so good. The remains, though slight, are sufficient to show the intense religious emotions of the Jain community and the deep devotional feeling with which they thought of their Tīrthakaras.¹ The inscription at Multia shows that Jains already used temples in the first century B.C., and at rather later dates there is evidence that they had begun to use images. These changes are very closely contemporaneous to the corresponding movements in Buddhism.

§ 134. It is impossible to say how much of their early literature was still retained in the memories of Jain ascetics during these centuries, nor how far the formation of the Aṅgas, now preserved in the Śvetāmbara Canon, had gone. Weber believed that the gradual process of creating the present Aṅgas began in the second century A.D., but it is more probable that portions of the ancient literature have been preserved, though doubtless from the time of the Schism, about A.D. 80, a process of revision in the interest of the sect was carried out by Śvetāmbara monks. Numerous traditions refer certain of these canonical works or comments on them to writers believed to have lived during this period—to Ajjasāma, to Kālakāchāyīya, to Vīrabhadra—but everything is confused and obscure. As research proceeds, a measure of light will doubtless be thrown on the history.

§ 135. In a sixteenth-century Digambara work, the *Tattva-ārthasāradīpikā* of Sakalakīrti,² it is stated that from very early times the Digambaras had a large Canon, handed down orally, but that it was gradually forgotten, until in the second century A.D. it had all been lost. A list of the books is given,³ divided into three groups, *Aṅgas*, *Pūrvas*, and *Anga-*

¹ The Jains use the word Tīrthakara, precisely as the Buddhists use Buddha, for an omniscient teacher, and they have a long list of them stretching away far back from Mahāvīra, just like the list of the Previous Buddhas.

² See § 440.

³ Bhandarkar, *Report* 83-4, p. 106 f., Jaini, *OJ.* 135

bāhyas. A large proportion of the names correspond with books of the Śvetāmbara list, but there are differences

§ 136. There is also an obscure tradition¹ that Pushpadanta and Bhūtavalya reduced the Canon to writing in the second century A.D., but as these two are the very men who are mentioned as having been the last that knew one Aṅga orally, and with whom all knowledge of the sacred literature died, it looks as if the tradition had been invented at a late date to give the Digambaras the *kudos* of having once possessed a written canon like the Śvetāmbaras. The truth seems to be rather this, that during the time when the differences between the two sects were becoming more sharply defined, the Digambaras took so little interest in the sacred books that the Śvetāmbaras were able to manipulate them in their own interest. The Canon bears clear traces of this process of Śvetāmbara redaction. If this be the truth, we can have no difficulty in understanding why the Digambaras 'lost' the Canon. The traditional date for the loss, the second century A.D., just gives time for the process after the schism.

§ 137. The vernacular of the far south, known as Tamil, developed a varied literature at a very early date, and both Buddhists and Jains took part in the movement. Some of the most famous of early Tamil works are said to be of Jain origin, but they are not distinctively Jain works but belong rather to general literature. No work holds a higher place among the classics of the South than the sacred *Kural*, a poem consisting of 2,660 short couplets, dealing with virtue, wealth, and pleasure. It forms one of a group of eighteen didactic poems, five or six of which are by Jains. There are also two romances in verse, the *Manimekhalai* and the *Silappadhikaram*, both noted for their simple and elegant style, which are believed to have been written by Jains.²

¹ Bhandarkar, *Report*, 83-4, p. 125

² *BMCTR.* 2, 4

CHAPTER IV

PHILOSOPHIES AND SECTS.

A.D. 200 TO 550.

§ 138. Hindus, Buddhists, and Jains all sought during this period to give the best possible expression to their philosophies. The foundation texts of the six Hindu systems, of Jain philosophy, and of Vijñānavāda Buddhism were all written now, and numerous commentaries, most of which have been lost, were produced for their elucidation. Hindu sects are now far more numerous than formerly. Each has its own theology, in which its god is identified with the Brahman of the Upanishads, and each seeks to popularize its teaching and its cult by means of an interesting Puranic document.

The history of India during the third century is a blank, but in A.D. 320 the family of the Guptas arose, and soon created an empire which recalled the glory of the old Mauryas, and gave North India a century and a half of strong, enlightened government. The peace and prosperity of these years provided the conditions in which religious literature and culture could do their best. It was then that the philosophic texts already mentioned, the early Purāṇas and a great series of Buddhist Mahāyāna Sūtras were written.

Probably at some time during this period the Syrian Christian Church of Malabar came into existence.

1 HINDUISM.

A *The Philosophies.*

§ 139 We take the philosophies first, as they are probably the healthiest and most abiding elements of the religion of the time. Their interest to us lies in this, that the classic

treatises, which form the foundation of study in all the six orthodox systems, appeared at this time. It is evident that each of these works is built on earlier systematic treatises, and is the result of centuries of thinking. But all earlier manuals are lost, having been rendered obsolete by the greater power, accuracy, and finish of these classic works.

No definite date can yet be assigned for any one of these six books—we must be content to recognize that they arose within certain rather wide limits.¹ Yet the following points seem clear. (a) They were edited with reference to each other. There are so many cross-references from each to the others that scholars are satisfied that all six arose in a single period. At the time there must have been a great deal of public discussion, in the course of which the characteristic conceptions of each system were chiselled to the utmost perfection of form. (b) All six are clearly later than the didactic epic and *Nāgārjuna*. On the other hand, the lowest possible limit seems to be A.D. 450; for the oldest surviving commentary² comes from about that date. A.D. 200 to 450 would thus seem to be the extreme limits that can be allowed. (c) The wealth and intellectual activity of the Gupta Empire would provide the natural atmosphere and environment for the mutual intercourse and public discussion which lie behind the books. (d) Scholars are now inclined to believe, on the basis of Chinese evidence, that the author of the *Sāṃkhya Karikā* flourished about the beginning of the fourth century.³ Asaṅga, the exponent of the Vijñānavādin school of Buddhism, which in all probability is the idealistic system attacked in the *Yoga-sūtras*, lived about the same time. Thus two out of the six treatises would stand related to the first half of the fourth century. (e) If, then, all six were edited with reference to each other, there would seem to be

¹ For this whole problem see Jacobi, *JIOS* XXXI 1 ff; Suali, *ET*, Keith, *JRAS*, 1914, 1089, 1915, 537.

² Vātsyāyana's *Nyāya-bhāṣya*. Sabara-śvāmīn's *Mīmāṃsā-bhāṣya* is probably as early.

³ See § 146.

a number of lines of evidence converging to the fourth century as the most probable period for their emergence

§ 140. The form of these books is very strange at first sight to the Western student. Five of them are sūtras, and one consists of memorial verses, kāṇikās. No single document by itself provides anything like a clear, comprehensible account of the philosophy which it represents¹ The system was expounded by the teacher, and the sūtra or the kāṇikā was little more than an index of topics which, committed to memory, enabled the student to carry the instructions of his teacher in his mind

But the two manuals which we deal with first are much more difficult to understand than the others. In them scarcely one single sūtra is intelligible without a commentary.² The method of reasoning³ also employed in these manuals is always elaborate and difficult, and sometimes obscure

§ 141. There are six systems which are recognized as orthodox. Each is called a darśana, or view, because it embodies a way of looking at the world. They fall into three pairs, and are so arranged because of a close connexion between the pairs. The first pair depend definitely on the Vedas, while in the case of each of the other two pairs, the second philosophy adopted the metaphysics of the first

The first pair of systems fundamentally are not philosophies, but merely systematic expositions of the two main parts of the Veda. Each is called *mīmāṃsā*, which means investigation, exegesis. The Former Investigation Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, deals with the sacrificial part of the Veda, and the Later Investigation, Uttara Mīmāṃsā, deals with the Upanishads. These two, then, really form the systematic theology of Hinduism. Since, however, the Upanishads are philosophic works, the Uttara Mīmāṃsā stands in the closest possible relation with the whole history of philosophy in India. The

¹ See Keith, *JRAS.* 1916, 613

² See Thibaut, *SBE* XXXIV. xiii.

³ It is explained by Max Muller, *SS.* 203-4.

words Former and Later, as applied to these two mīmāṃsās, do not refer to the historical appearance of these systems, far less to the dates of the Sūtras, but to their place in study and in the life of the pious Hindu.

a. *The Karma Mīmāṃsā.*

§ 142. The purpose of the Pūva Mīmāṃsā, which is also called Karma Mīmāṃsā, i.e. Action Investigation, is to reach certainty on the subject of *dharma*, i.e. the whole religious duty of Hindus, but as a matter of fact sacrifice receives so much attention as almost to eclipse other elements of duty. All necessary instructions are given in the hymns and the Brāhmaṇas, but these are not systematic works, and in using them for the sacrifices priests met numerous difficulties. The Mīmāṃsā was meant to solve these problems by providing principles which should prove sufficient as guidance in the interpretation of the Vedic texts.

Most of the sūtras of Jaimini's *Pūva-mīmāṃsā-sūtras* are expositions of single texts or phrases, and are thus of little interest to the modern reader, but here and there great questions arise which are worthy of notice. For example, the absolute authority of the Veda requires for its establishment the doctrine of its eternity, and that leads in turn to the doctrine of the eternity of sound and the indefeasible connexion between the sound of a word and its meaning.¹

As the Veda contains many promises of rewards for those who perform the actions enjoined therein, and as these results are not seen arising at once from the actions, it seemed necessary to believe that sacrifice produces an invisible, transcendental result (*apūrva*), which will in time provide the promised fruit.

The Pūva Mīmāṃsā does not teach a philosophical system, yet certain metaphysical ideas are implied or find incidental expression in it. The existence of God is denied

¹ See *ERE*. VIII. 648.

on the ground that an omniscient being is inconceivable, a realistic conception of the world is implied, the eternity of the world is stated in such terms as practically to preclude the belief in the periodic destruction and re-creation of all things; and the law of Karma is held so rigidly that it scarcely seems possible to believe in release from transmigration, and certainly the doctrine does not occur.¹

The system came into existence to help the Vedic sacrificer and the priests who acted for him, and it remains to this day the guide of orthodox householders of the twice-born castes. Hence, unlike the Vedānta, the Sāṅkhya, and the Yoga, it does not teach asceticism, and has never had ascetics associated with it.

b. *The Uttara Mīmāṃsā or Vedānta.*

§ 143. The manual of the Uttara Mīmāṃsā, or Later Investigation, is usually called the *Vedānta-sūtras*. *Brahma-sūtras* and *Śārīraka-sūtras* are also used, because the subject is Brahman, who is recognized as being the Śārīraka, or spirit 'embodied' in the universe. The work is attributed to Bādarāyana, but the character of the work itself shows that a long succession of scholars stand behind the author, and the names of seven of these occur in the sūtras.²

The work is a manual of exegesis for students of the Classical Upanishads, and is based on the belief that these treatises are in the fullest sense Revelation, and therefore contain a harmonious body of truth. As a matter of fact, although the Upanishads all set forth Brahman, one, spiritual, unknowable, as the basis of all things, they teach no settled system, but fling out guesses at truth from various standpoints. Necessarily, the effort to view the whole as an articulated body of clearly expressed ideas creates numerous difficulties. In so far as the obscurity of the sūtras permits us to judge, it would

¹ For these very early ideas see § 37

² Thibaut, *SBE.* XXXIV xix.

seem that the following outlines of a system are taught in the work.

Brahman is one and formless, and consists of intelligence. He is the source of scripture (*śruti*) and is therefore omniscient, and he is to be known only from scripture. He is the material as well as the final cause of the universe. He has no purpose to fulfil, and is therefore inactive. His seeming activity is sport. The world, though produced from Brahman from time to time, has had no beginning and will have no end. Scripture also is eternal. The gods exist, and they feed in their own divine way on the sacrifices which the Veda enjoins.

The individual soul is eternal, intelligent, all-pervading. It is a portion of Brahman, it *is* Brahman. Its individuality is but an appearance. Sacrificial works help a man to rise to knowledge of Brahman, but it is knowledge alone that confers release. The life of chastity and meditation on Brahman, as taught in scripture, is the path to knowledge. From Brahman comes the fruit of works, and therefore transmigration, from him comes also release.

§ 144. At a very early date the *Vedānta-sūtras* became revered as an inspired work, and it has since been held by almost all Hindus to be infallible. Yet in spite of that, since no commentary by its author has come down to us, the exact meaning of its enigmatical phrases is in many cases far from clear, and many variant expositions have been formulated by Hindu thinkers. These scholars fall in the main into two groups, those, on the one hand, who follow Śaṅkarāchārya (A.D. 788-850) in taking the identity of the individual soul with God in the strictest possible sense, and in accepting a monism so absolute that the material world is regarded as pure illusion, and the personality of God tends to be crushed out, and those, on the other, who, because they believe Brahman to be personal, regard the world as more or less real and the human soul as more or less distinct from him. The chief representative of this group is Rāmānuja, who flourished about 1100.

Thibaut discusses in considerable detail the question whether Śaṅkara or Rāmānuja comes nearest the teaching of the sūtras and reaches the conclusion¹ that, while the kind of Vedānta represented in the *Vedānta-sūtras* must be left an open question, there is reason to suppose that in some important points their teaching is more closely related to the system of Rāmānuja than to that of Śaṅkara.² On the other hand, he is inclined to believe that the teaching of Śaṅkara stands nearer to the teaching of the Upanishads than the *Sūtras* of Bādarāyana do, and he explains this striking fact by the supposition that the teaching of the *Sūtras* was influenced in some degree by the *Bhagavadgītā*.³

For many centuries the Upanishads, the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Vedānta-sūtras* have been recognized as the *Prasthāna-traya*, the Triple Source, of the Vedānta philosophy. It seems probable that in Bādarāyana's day the *Gītā* had already risen to great authority, even if it had not yet received its destined place in the Canon of the school. Being thus placed practically on a level with the Upanishads, the *Gītā* necessarily became recognized as absolutely orthodox.⁴

§ 145 It is of interest to realize that three of the distinct theories of the relation of the individual soul to Brahman which were afterwards embodied in commentaries on these sūtras had already received expression by Vedāntic scholars before the time of Bādarāyana. According to Āśmarathya, the soul is neither absolutely different from God nor absolutely without difference, i. e. he held the theory called Bhedābheda, according to Audulomī the soul is altogether different from Brahman up to the time when, obtaining release, it is merged in it, i. e. he held the Satyabheda, or Dvaita, theory, while according to Kāśakṛtsna the soul is absolutely non-different from Brahman, i. e. he held the Advaita theory.⁵

From the date of the earliest Upanishads until now there

¹ *SBE.* XXXIV CXXVI f

² *SBE.* XXXIV CXXVI

³ *SBE.* XXXIV XIX

⁴ Cf. Keith, *SS.* 6, 52

⁵ For its original heterodoxy, see § 94

has existed the great order of sannyāsīs who seek to follow this teaching. They are still the most numerous and the most highly respected order of monks in India. There are also a few nuns.

c *The Sāṅkhya.*

§ 146. The primary authority for the Sāṅkhya system is the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*,¹ a poem consisting originally of seventy verses and attributed to Īśvara Kṛishna. It seems clear from Chinese authorities that this writer was also known as Vindhyavāsin, and that he was a little senior to Vasubandhu, the famous Buddhist scholar.² Until recently it was believed that Vasubandhu's date was the first half of the fifth century, but fresh evidence which has become available has led most scholars to conclude that he lived from about A.D. 270 to 350.³ If that be so, we must place Īśvara Kṛishna towards the beginning of the fourth century.⁴

According to tradition, the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* is really the *Shashṭitantra* rewritten, which, as we have seen above,⁵ was a manual of the theistic Sāṅkhya. The contents of the *Shashṭitantra* as sketched in the *Mūlābhūta Saṁhitā*⁶ seem to justify this tradition.

The poem is an excellent piece of work. Unlike the obscure sūtras of the two mīmāṃsās, its verses are each quite comprehensible, although it would undoubtedly be extremely difficult for a beginner to form an intelligible conception of the system from the treatise by itself.

It is well to recognize that with the Sāṅkhya we enter upon rationalistic speculation. It is held to be throughout consistent with scripture (*śruti*), but it is clear on the very surface that the leading ideas have been evolved not from Vedic texts but from observation and speculative thought. The appeal to

¹ See esp. Keith, *SS.* chap. vii.

² *JRAS.* 1905, 162, 355.

³ *BEPEO* vi, 356 ff.; Thomas, *JRAS.* 1913, 646; 1931, 1914, 748, Planks, *JRAS.* 1914, 398 ff.; Takakusu, *ib.* 113, Keith, *SS.* 87.

⁴ Keith, *SS.* 43; 57, 63.

⁵ § 99.

⁶ Schrader, *JPAS.* 110 ff.

scripture is more formal than real; yet the system has in consequence been recognized as orthodox, and therefore superior not only to Buddhism and Jainism but to the sectarian systems.

§ 147. The end in view¹ is the removal of misery, and the means is true knowledge. Three kinds of evidence are available, perception, inference, and right affirmation (which includes scripture). The system is an atheistic dualism: there are two eternal existences, original nature (*prakṛiti*), and spirits (*puruṣa*). *Prakṛiti* is one, unconscious, productive, spirits are many, conscious, inactive, each a solitary, passive spectator of the operations of nature. It is implied that spirits transmigrate and suffer misery. *Prakṛiti* is the universal material cause, unconscious, homogeneous, invisible, impalpable, knowable only from its products. Professor Keith writes²

The essential conception is that from unconscious nature there is developed for the sake of spirit a whole universe, that the development takes place for each individual spirit separately, but yet at the same time in such a manner that nature and its evolutes are common to all spirits.

Prakṛiti and all its products possess the three constituents, goodness (*sattva*), energy (*rajas*), and darkness (*tamas*), but while they are in equilibrium in *prakṛiti*, they appear in its products in variant balance. From *prakṛiti* issues Intellect (*buddhi*) called also the Great (*mahat*), a subtle cosmic substance, which constitutes in the individual his organ of thought and decision. From Intellect is produced Egoism or Individuation (*ahamkāra*), a subtle cosmic substance which marks every psychical movement with the word 'mine' and makes each spirit imagine itself an active human individual. From Egoism is produced Mind (*manas*), a subtle cosmic substance which enables the individual to apprehend and pass on to the intellect the impressions of things received by the senses, and to carry out the decisions of the intellect by means of the active organs. From Egoism there are also produced the five organs of sense,

¹ Keith (SS. Chap. viii) gives a brilliant exposition and criticism of the system of the *Kārikā*.

² SS. 78

the five organs of action, and five subtle elements, or rudiments (*tanmātras*), which in turn produce the five material elements. Prakṛiti, with its three first products and these four fives, make twenty-four principles, and spirit makes the twenty-fifth.

The spirit, intelligent but inactive, is united with nature, unconscious but active, like a lame man carried on a blind man's back, and, misled by the operations of Egoism, imagines himself an active individual, thinking, feeling, willing, acting, while he is but an inactive spectator of the unconscious and inevitable processes of nature. Yet nature is produced, so that she may display herself like a dancer, and so give the individual spirit an opportunity to realize the truth that he is not bound by nature but is a free, inactive spirit. By repeated reflective study of these principles the follower of the Sāṅkhya reaches the knowledge, 'Neither I am, nor is aught mine, nor do I exist.' Possessed of this knowledge, the puruṣa in peace and inaction contemplates nature, which is thereby precluded from her activity, and the puruṣa at death attains its true life of Isolation (*kaivalya*).

§ 148 It seems clear that this complicated system was evolved from a number of early conceptions in the Upanishads.¹ It has in turn deeply influenced every form of Indian thought.

The Sāṅkhya offers the knowledge which leads to Kaivalya to Śūdras as well as to twice-born Hindus. It thus stands between the Vedānta, which is restricted to the twice-born, and the Yoga, which is open to all. There has existed since the early centuries an order of Sāṅkhya sannyāsīs, but there are few, if any, left now.

d *The Yoga*

§ 149. The manual of the Yoga system, the *Yoga-sūtra*, is attributed to Patañjali, and for centuries it was held that the reference was to the grammarian of the second century B.C., and consequently the *Yoga-sūtra* was believed by European

¹ So Keith, *SS.* Chap. i, and 87.

scholars to be the earliest of the philosophic manuals. But since the *sūtra* shows a more developed system than anything that appears in the epic or in the Yoga Upanishads, and since the *Vijñānavāda* of Buddhism is criticized in it,¹ it is now recognized that the author must have been another Patañjali, and that his date cannot be earlier than the middle of the fourth century A.D. It is probable that the writing of the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* and its great success led to the production of the *Yoga-sūtra*.² The rise of the *Vijñānavādin*, or *Yogāchāra*,³ system within Buddhism, about A.D. 300, would also be a challenge; for Yoga holds a large place in it.

The Yoga system accepts the twenty-five principles of the *Sāṅkhya* and adds to them the Lord (*Īśvara*), thus raising the number to twenty-six. But the interest of the Yoga centres, not in the understanding of these principles, but in the practice of the method of yoga and in devotion to the Lord, which it sets forth as the most efficient means for the attainment of the Isolation (*kaivalya*) of the soul (*purusha* or *ātman*).

The Lord of the *Yoga-sūtras* is attached rather loosely to the main conceptions of the system.⁴ He is a special kind of soul (*purusha-viśeṣa*), omniscient, eternal, perfect, untouched by karma, transmigration, or human weakness. He is the teacher of the Primal Sages, and he helps the man who shows him devotion to reach the concentration which leads to Isolation, but he is not called the Creator nor otherwise related to world-processes. He is expressed by the mystic syllable, *Om*.

Yoga-method seeks to gain complete mastery over the movements of the mind, first by means of moral abstentions, ascetic observances, and exercises both physical and mental, and then by fixed attention and deepening meditation, which lead on to ecstatic contemplation and the final discrimination between soul and nature, which secures Isolation.

¹ Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.* XXII b, 335, 336, Woods, *Yoga*, XV ff; Keith, *S.S.* 57.

² § 178.

³ Keith, *S.S.* 57

⁴ Keith, *S.S.* 56

In its earlier stages the school of Yoga was open to all Hindus, and even to Outcastes,¹ precisely like Buddhism and Jainism. Yoga ascetics are called Yogīs

e *The Vaiśeṣika*

§ 150. As we have seen above, the Vaiśeṣika system already existed in the first century A.D., and it may be still older. The classic treatise, the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtras*, is attributed to Kaṇāda Kāśyapa. The Vaiśeṣika and the Nyāya systems apparently grew up side by side, and the two sūtra manuals seem to have been edited with close-reference to each other.²

The Vaiśeṣika is an atomistic realism. Nine classes of ultimate realities, *dravyas*, are recognized. There are first four classes of paramāṇus, i.e. minima, or atoms. Each paramāṇu is a changeless, eternal reality, yet invisible and without magnitude. The minima fall into four classes, according as they possess odour, flavour, light, or heat, which are regarded as characteristics of earth, water, air, and fire respectively. Two minima form a dyanuka, or binary atom, and a combination of three dyanukas forms a triyanuka, the smallest entity that possesses magnitude and may be termed a substance. The fifth ultimate reality, *ākāśa*, usually translated 'ether', is an indiscrète and all-pervading continuum, conceived as the medium necessary for the formation of substances from the unsubstantial minima. The sixth reality, *kāla* (lit. 'time') stands for the force which produces all activity, movement, and change, and thus gives the basis for the perception of time-differences. The seventh reality, *dik* (i.e. direction or position), acts so as to balance *kāla*, keeping things in position and preventing their dissolution amid the welter of change. The eighth reality is an infinite number of *ātman*s, the old Vedantic word for the self or soul. Each *ātman* is eternal, infinite, all-pervading. The ninth ultimate is *manas*, the organ through which the *ātman* comes into touch with the impressions of the senses. Like the paramāṇus, each *manas* is eternal and without

¹ Hopkins, *G.E.* 114.

² Keith, *J.R.A.S.* 1914, p. 1085.

magnitude. Like the Karma Mīmāṃsā and the Sāṅkhya, the original Vaiśeṣhika recognizes the Hindu gods but not the one God.

The sūtras name six padārthas, categories or classes of things that can be named, *dravya* (entity, existence), *guṇa* (quality), *karma* (action), *sāmānya* (the relation of a thing to its genus), *viśeṣa* (differentia), and *samavāya* (inherence). The knowledge of these categories brings release.

f. *The Nyāya.*

§ 151. The Nyāya system, which can be traced from the first century, has adopted the Vaiśeṣhika metaphysic, and thus stands related to that system in much the same way as the Yoga stands to the Sāṅkhya, but, as sufficient evidence to enable us to trace the early history of the Nyāya has not come down, we cannot tell how it came into existence. As the special interest of the Nyāya is to prove the truths which lead to bliss and deliverance, one might conjecture that the system was formed by combining the method of an early school of dialectic with the Vaiśeṣhika metaphysic, or, as an alternative, that two schools seeking deliverance grew up side by side, the one seeking saving knowledge in an accurate scientific account of all things, the other feeling the necessity of presenting a demonstrative proof of the truth of the main positions which were held to be necessary for deliverance, and that, after the elaboration of the proofs, the metaphysic of the scientific school was adopted to complete the world-view. There is one further difference to be noted. Like the Yoga, the Nyāya posits a Lord (*Īśvara*), and is thus theistic, but in the sūtra he is referred to only as administering the fruits of action. The fundamental document is Gautama's *Nyāya-sūtra*.

The sūtra enumerates sixteen topics. They are, 1. Proof, 2. Things to be proved, 3. Doubt, 4. Motive, 5. Example, 6. Conclusion, 7. The members of a syllogism, 8. Reductio ad absurdum, 9. Ascertainment, 10. Thesis, 11. Sophistical wrangling, 12. Cavilling, 13. Fallacious reasoning, 14. Futility,

15 Quibbling, 16. Talk that is beside the point. These subjects of discussion show where the centre of interest lies in the philosophy. In the course of its reasonings the Nyāya developed the logic of India.

§ 152 In both the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika the conception of the soul (*ātman*) is much richer and fuller than in other systems. Its functions are Involuntary vital action, Voluntary action, Desire, Aversion, Cognition, and Control of the organs of sense and of the *manas* or inner organ.

These two schools seem to have sprung up among the orthodox twice-born householders; for neither demands asceticism, nor have ascetics been associated with them.

It is very noteworthy that the Vaiśeṣika was certainly atheistic to begin with, and the Nyāya may have been so also. Thus the ancient Hindu mind, which acknowledged all the gods but not the Supreme, lingered long among the twice-born. But gradually a belief in God won its way. From a very early date the Nyāya became theistic, and the Vaiśeṣika followed later. The Nyāya is to this day professed by considerable numbers of orthodox Brāhmins in Bengal; while the Vaiśeṣika seems to have been associated with Pāsupata Saivism from the moment when it recognized the existence of the Supreme.

§ 153 It is probable, though not certain, that each of the classical treatises was accompanied by a commentary prepared by the author, but unfortunately, if these existed, no single one of them has survived. Of all existing commentaries on the six manuals, only two seem to belong to our period, namely, Śabara Svāmī's *Bhāṣya* on the *Purva-mīmāṃsā-sūtras*, and Vātsyāyana's *Nyāya Bhāṣya*. Jacobi conjectures¹ that both these works belong to the fifth century. It seems clear that Vātsyāyana's *Bhāṣya* at least falls within the limits of our period, for he comes before Dignāga,² the Buddhist writer, whose date is about A.D. 550,³ while the archaic

¹ *JAS.* XXVI. 24, *IRL.* II. 201.

² *Vidyābhūṣana*, *MSL.* 86.

³ Woods, *Loga*, xiv.

character of Sabara's work is sufficient to justify our inclusion of it within the same limits.

The philosophies of Buddhism and Jainism are discussed elsewhere, but it may be useful to note here that the four Buddhist philosophical systems, Saivāstivādin, Sautiāntika, Mādhyamaka, Vijñānavādin, are combated in these Hindu manuals, and that the classic treatise of the Vijñānavādins was probably written about the same time as the *Sāṅkhya Kārikā*, while Umāsvāti also, whose *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* is the fountain head of Jain philosophy, seems to have lived under the Guptas.¹

B *The Purāṇas*

§ 154. It would be difficult to exaggerate the popularity and importance of the religious poems known as Purāṇas. They are very widely used among the common people, both in the original and in numerous vernacular versions and adaptations. Indeed the epics and the Purāṇas are the real Bible of the common people, whether literate or illiterate, and they are the source of half the vernacular literature. On the other hand, the Purāṇas are of little intrinsic interest as compared with the Vedas, or the philosophic or classical literature; and hence they have been largely neglected by serious students. Wilson's essays laid the foundations for critical study, but little has been done since his time. It is thus impossible at present to give a trustworthy chronology of these poems, or to explain how each arose; yet something may be said to enable readers to grasp the significance of the more important sections of the literature.

Purāṇas are referred to in Vedic literature from the *Atharvaveda* downwards, quotations occur in the Dharmaśāstras, and in the Epics, while there are definite references to the *Bhaviṣya P.* in the *Āpastamba Dharmaśāstra* and to the *Vāyu P.* in the *Mahābhārata*. A passage in the *Pañcra P.* is copied in the *Mahābhārata*.² Yet even the earliest existing

¹ See § 185

² Hopkins, *Ch.* 47-50.

Purānas come from later dates. They contain sections and fragments belonging to early centuries, but as works they are late.

§ 155. The Purānas are a second type of popular literature, written in the same veise and open to the people with the same completeness as the epics, but they had a different origin. The word purāna means ancient, but as a name in literature it signifies not an ancient book but an ancient subject, Aīchaica. Indeed, originally a Purāna would seem to have been a book of origins, a sort of Hindu Genesis. The tradition is that a Purāna has five marks, i.e. it contains teaching on five distinct topics, as follows

I. Creation

II. Re-creation, i.e. at the opening of each kalpa, with a description of the Universe, Heaven, Hell, and earth.

III. Genealogies of gods and rishis, and an account of the origin of the Veda

IV. The ages of the world and their regents

V. Genealogies of kings.

This shows that a Purāna was conceived as a book of origins; and to this day the Purānas are the source of popular conceptions of creation, time, the universe, the earth, geography, and early history. We shall use the word 'cosmic' to describe this type of teaching as a whole, although considerable sections are rather legendary and historical than cosmic. Some very old material, belonging to this category, occurs in two or three of the earliest of our existing Purānas, whence it has been copied, with or without alteration, into most of the others. It can be most conveniently studied in the *Viṣṇu*. Further, in the genealogies of kings in the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, and *Matsya*, there is material which has proved to be of historical value. As the latest kings named in these documents belong to the first half of the fourth century, the documents presumably are not much later.

§ 156. But, like the epics, the Purānas were used by the sects as vehicles of sectarian teaching. Each sect and sub-sect

sought to foist its own documents upon some popular Purāṇa, so that they might find their way into the hands and hearts of the people. The process seems to have begun, as in the epic, with Kṛishṇa. It was quite natural to append his biography to the genealogies of the ancient kings, as is done in the *Harivamśa* and the *Viṣṇu P.* Thereafter, sectarian documents of many types found their way into the Purāṇas. As in the epic, the Vaiṣṇavas here took the lion's share, but the Saivas did not fall far behind them, while other sects had to be content with slighter support.

Scholars are inclined to believe that the earliest of the existing Purāṇas took shape under the Guptas in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, although all have probably undergone more or less modification since then,¹ and it is probably true that every existing Purāṇa owes its present form and its survival to some sect. Thus we take the golden age of the Guptas as the dividing line. In earlier times there existed real old Purāṇas dealing with origins. They were meant for the whole people, and were a genuine national literature. But only fragments of these 'cosmic' Purāṇas survive. All existing Purāṇas come from the Gupta period or from later dates. Further, the Purāṇas have suffered so much from re-writing and interpolation that they cannot be treated like homogeneous texts. The date of each section must be considered by itself, and in most cases internal evidence alone is available. Most of the results must thus be treated as very tentative.

§ 157. From quite an early time the Purāṇas have been spoken of as eighteen in number, for the phrase, 'the eighteen Purāṇas' occurs in a very late passage in the *Mahābhārata*.² What this early canon was like, we have no means of knowing, but it may possibly have included a few of the existing Purāṇas, for the passage referred to is probably not earlier

¹ Pargiter, *JRAS* 1912, 248, Fleet, *ib.* 1912, 1046, Keith, *ib.* 1914, 740, 1915, 331.

² XVIII v. 46, vi 97, Hopkins, *GE.* 48.

than the fourth century. But the actual number of existing works recognized as Purāṇas is twenty, for the *Harivamśa*, which forms the conclusion of the *Mahābhārata*, is one of the earliest and greatest of the Purāṇas, and must be reckoned as such, and both the *Śiva* and the *Vāyu*, one of which is usually excluded from the list, ought to be included. There are besides many secondary documents, known as Upapurāṇas. The twenty recognized works are the following eighteen, as found in the list in the Vishnu: 1. Brahma, 2. Padma, 3. Vishnu, 4. Śiva, 5. Bhāgavata, 6. Nāradya, 7. Mārkaṇḍeya, 8. Agni, 9. Bhaviṣya, 10. Brahmavaivarta, 11. Linga, 12. Varāha, 13. Skanda, 14. Vāmana, 15. Kūrma, 16. Matsya, 17. Garuda, 18. Brahmāṇḍa—with the Harivamśa and the Vāyu added.

§ 158. Thus the roots of the Purāṇic literature go back to early dates, but most of the material is late. Even a cursory study shows that there have been innumerable additions, excisions, and alterations made in the course of the centuries. Very few Purāṇas have a settled text—differing recensions exist, and countless fragments of many types are found in MSS., either incorporated in a Purāṇa, or claiming to belong to one. The sectarian Purāṇa is essentially an old text partially rewritten for a sectarian end, or an old text with a sectarian document incorporated in it, and this process of contamination has been continued through all the centuries since the Gupta period. Ancient legends about the sectarian gods, masses of sectarian theology, philosophy, ritual, and art, manuals of politics, war, astrology, medicine, rhetoric, and grammar, and *māhātmyas* (i.e. panegyrics) of temples and other places of pilgrimage, now form a large part of the contents of the Purāṇas. Thus even if the precise date of the original compilation of each of the twenty Purāṇas were definitely known, we should still be compelled to judge the age and origin of each section on its own merits. But very little of this critical work has yet been done; so that only tentative conclusions can be given at present, and critical

study will prove fruitful only if the Puranic material is examined in the closest possible relation to the history of the sects.

We propose to fit Puranic material into our outline of the history in two ways. First, we shall give a list in each chapter of those Purāṇas or sections of Purāṇas which seem to belong to its period, and secondly we shall use those sectarian Puranic documents whose connexions can be discerned to help to complete our sketch of the literature of each period.

§ 159. It is clear that the *Harivaṃśa* belongs to this period, but there is no absolute proof with regard to any other document. Yet we propose, tentatively, to assign the following Purāṇas and parts of Purāṇas to this period, since the evidence in each case seems to favour the ascription. They are briefly discussed below in the sections which deal with the sectarian literatures, and in each case the reasons for ascribing them to this period are stated.

The sect of Vishnu ·	<i>Harivaṃśa</i> and <i>Vishnu P.</i>
„ Śiva ·	Sections in <i>Vāyu P.</i>
„ Brāhmā	First Khanda of <i>Padma P.</i> , portions of <i>Mārkaṇḍeya P.</i>
„ Daigā.	Hymns in <i>Harivaṃśa</i> ; Chandī Māhātmya of <i>Mārkaṇḍeya P.</i>
„ Sūrya :	Section of <i>Mārkaṇḍeya P.</i> ; Brāhma Paivan of <i>Bhaviṣya P.</i>

C. The Orthodox Twice-born and their Literature.

§ 160. The slow yet steady weakening of the ancient sacrifices prescribed in the Śrauta-sūtras seems to be one of the chief features of orthodox life during this period, while the simpler rites laid down in the Grihya-sūtras were more and more practised and also widened in their scope. The popular gods took their place in the worship of the home, and were honoured with a ritual taken from the Grihya-sūtras. At this time also the word *Smārta* began to be used for the orthodox twice-born man who does not offer the Śrauta sacrifices, while

Śrauta became the term for the man who still keeps up several or all of the Śrauta rites. The word *Smārta* occurs first of all in this sense in the *Parīśiṣṭas* to Baudhāyana's *Gṛhya-sūtra*. *Smārta* comes from *Smṛti*, and the idea is that the *Smārta*'s worship depends upon *smṛti*, i. e. the *sūtras*, and in particular on the *Gṛhya-sūtra* of the school to which he belongs.

For the whole group of orthodox twice-born men the final exposition of the *Kaṭina Mīmāṃsā*, the *Nyāya*, and the *Vaiśeṣika* in *sūtras*—all three being systems which orthodox householders favoured—and the codification of the ancient *dharma* in the lawbooks during those centuries must have been of signal importance, while the writing of the *Parīśiṣṭas* now attached to the *Baudhāyana Gṛhya-sūtras* seems to have arisen directly from the emergence of the *Smārtas*.

The chief works on the sacred law belonging to this period are the *Viṣṇusmṛiti*, the *Ātikhānasa Gṛhya* and *Dharma-sūtras*, the *Yājñavalkya Dharmaśāstra* and certain *Parīśiṣṭas* or appendices tacked on to the *Baudhāyana Gṛhya-sūtra*. The earliest of these works is the *Viṣṇusmṛiti*, which is later than the *Harivamśa*, and the latest is the *Yājñavalkya Dharmaśāstra*, which borrows passages from the *Viṣṇusmṛiti* and speaks of Gaṇeśa. The *Baudhāyana Gṛhya-sūtra* is of peculiar interest for the history of the *Smārta* community; for it is sometimes called the *Smārta-sūtra* in MSS,¹ and its *Parīśiṣṭas* contain rules for their cult.² It would be well if they could be critically edited. The *Yājñavalkya Dharmaśāstra* stands in close relationship to *Manu* and is also an orthodox work.

The legal material of the *Viṣṇusmṛiti* is in prose *sūtras*, and seems to have been taken over almost unchanged from the *Dharma-sūtra* belonging to the *Chārāyanīya-Kāthakas*, one of the ancient schools of the *Black Yajurveda*, but some rules have been altered and a few new ones added. The

¹ Buhler, *SBH* XIV 300.

² I am informed that the worship of the five gods is dealt with in them, see § 207.

reviser has also introduced a short chapter at the beginning, in which we are told that the goddess of the earth received this whole body of law from the lips of the supreme Vishnu, and added two at the end in praise of Vishnu and his consort Sṛī. Krishna receives no special mention. The code is thus a Vaishnava work arranged for the use of some Vaishnava community, most probably the Bhāgavata, as is suggested at many points by the commentator Nandapāṇḍita.¹ The *Var-khānasa Sūtras* are also Vaishnava, and as these are found in the Tamil south to-day Vaishnava temples in which *Var-khānasa*, as distinct from *Pāñcharātra*, Samhitās² are used for the ritual, it is probable that this also was prepared for a special Vaishnava community.

§ 161. It was seemingly during this period that the worship of Vishnu and Śiva as equal, or as one, was instituted, for the fullest exposition of the theory on which the cult rests occurs in the *Harivamśa*.³ One might think that the worship of Śiva and Vishnu as one was a compromise meant to reconcile warring sectaries, but facts suggest another explanation.

The word Bhāgavata has two meanings in modern Hinduism. It is first an epithet used of Vaishnavas generally, as those who use the Bhagavat-śāstra, or body of works which revere Vishnu as Bhagavān. It is used, in the second place, of a special community of Vaishnavas, found to-day in most parts of South India, who really adore Vishnu, but recognize the equality of the two gods and keep up the use of Vedic rites. They are therefore recognized as Smāntas. It is of great importance to distinguish this community of Vaishnava Smāntas from the sectarian Vaishnavas called Pāñcharātras. We may be sure that the passage in the *Harivamśa*, which reflects the double worship, comes from the Bhāgavatas. An Upanishad was written later to establish the doctrine of the identity of Vishnu

¹ *SBE.* VII. pp. 155 n. 2, 208 n. 2; 268.

² See § 211 and § 212.

³ Chap. 184, lines 10660 ff. Cf. Muir, *OSZ.* IV., also Winternitz, I. 386. For the *Harivamśa*, see § 159 and § 162.

and Śiva, the *Skanda U.*¹ The godhead conceived in this way is designated *Harihara*, Preserver-Destroyer. An inscription dating from A.D. 528-9² shows that the Bhāgavata community was already in existence during this period, for it not only uses the word Bhāgavata but quotes their famous mantra, *Oṃ namo Bhagavate Vāsudevāya*.

The presence in the *Harivamśa* of the classical text on the metaphysical equality of Vishnu and Śiva, and of several other passages which fit in with the theory,³ naturally suggests the question whether the *Harivamśa* may not be a Bhāgavata Purāṇa corresponding to the *Vishṇu P.*, which clearly belongs to the Pāñcharātra Vaiṣṇavas. The emergence about the same time of two Purāṇas so similar in their attitude to Krishna would thereby find an explanation. The contents and significance of the *Harivamśa* are dealt with below.

D. Vaiṣṇava Literature.

§ 162. The *Harivamśa* and the *Vishṇu P.* are Krishnaite works prepared with the utmost care and skill from old materials, so that the popularity and the ancient influence of the Puranic literature may be used to strengthen the cult of Vishnu. It is suggested above⁴ that the *Harivamśa* may be a Bhāgavata document, while there is no doubt that the *Vishṇu P.* sprang from the Vaiṣṇava sect known as Pāñcharātras. They must in any case be considered together. The *Harivamśa* clearly cannot be dated later than A.D. 400, and the *Vishṇu P.* is so like it in most of its features that it is probable that it belongs to the same general date. Both contain a good deal of cosmic matter, but it is in their treatment of the Krishna-legend that they are most significant. They presuppose the whole *Mahābhārata* story, but they tell in great detail the sports and exploits of his youth, which are

¹ See § 210.

² The Khoh copper plates of Mahārāja Samkshobha, belonging to the year 209 of the Gupta era.

³ cxxxii, 741 ff., cxlv 8199 ff., cclxvi-cclxxvi, cccxxiv. See Winternitz, I. 384 ff.

⁴ § 161.

merely alluded to in the epic. Perhaps three stages in the development of the legend may be detected. The dramatist Bhāsa, who probably dates from the third century A.D., has a play called *Bālacharita*, which tells the story of Krishna's youth, as its name indicates. In it the *Hallīśa* sport is merely an innocent dance. In the *Vishnu P.* there are already various erotic touches which go a good deal further, while in the *Harwanśa* the whole story of his youth is told at much greater length and the Hallīśa is treated as involving sexual intercourse¹.

In any case it is the life of Krishna, and, above all, the legend of his youth that gives these works their significance, and the fresh material they contain, doubtless drawn from legends which had long been current in and about Mathurā, could scarcely be surpassed in power to attract, to interest, and to amuse the common people. Here we have Krishna and his brother pictured in a series of feats of strength and cunning, killing giants and circumventing rogues, the whole lighted up with coarse country humour of the broadest type, and, alongside, scenes of rustic merrymaking in which the young god captures the hearts of all the young wives, and keeps up the dance and the revel all night long.

The *Harwanśa* had the immense good fortune to be accepted as a fitting close to the *Mahābhārata*, and in consequence has enjoyed unlimited popularity and influence. The *Vishnu P.* is the best representative of the whole class of sectarian Purāṇas, since it is purely Vaishṇava in its teaching from beginning to end, and yet retains with considerable faithfulness the character of the old unsectarian Purāṇas. It is divided into six books, all of which, with the exception of the fifth, are in the main 'cosmic' in character, though distinctly Vaishṇava in theology. The fifth book tells the story of Krishna and is the heart of the Purāṇa, as has just been shown. In its theology the *Vishnu* follows, in the main, the *Gītā* and the other Vaishṇava documents of the didactic

¹ Chanda, *IAR.* 86 ff

epic, but it speaks of Krishna as being an incarnation of an exceedingly small portion of Vishnu.

The appearance of these two great works sufficiently attests the great place which Krishna held in Hindu thought at the time. Thibaut's conjecture as to the influence of the *Gītā* on the *Vedānta-sūtras*, and the unquestioned fact that about this time the Song rose to a place of authority on an equality with the Upanishads¹ are further proofs of the influence of the Vaishnava movement.

§ 163. The *Mahā*² is a short Upanishad which voices the Vaishnava conviction that Nārāyaṇa, i.e. Vishnu, is the eternal Brahman, that from him come the twenty-five principles of the Sāṅkhya system, and that Śiva and Brahmā are subordinate deities, creations of his meditative power. It is the oldest Vaishnava Upanishad, and probably comes from our period. It is quoted by Rāmānuja.³

I. *Śaiva Literature.*

§ 164. In the didactic epic, as we have seen, a theology named Pāśupata is woven round the god Śiva. This system makes its appearance next in the earlier part of the *Vāyu P.* The bulk of the Purāṇa probably belongs to the fourth or fifth century, but the date of this Pāśupata section is not yet known. The material, however, stands so near the Śaiva material of the Epic in character that we are inclined to place it in this period rather than in the next. It contains a good deal of 'cosmic' material very little modified, the philosophy following in the main the teaching of the theistic Yoga. Chapters 11 to 15 deal with Pāśupata Yoga, the various forms of physical and intellectual practice which were traditional in the sect.⁴ Here also occurs a Māhātmya of Maheśvara, and a hymn of praise in honour of Nīlakantha, both names of Śiva.

¹ See § 144.

² Deussen, *SBV* 743.

³ *SBH* XLVIII 522.

⁴ Pāśupata ascetics are called *ārtadhruva-tapasah*, *Pāśupatās tapasvinaḥ*, and *bhasmodbhutitaurgrahak*.

§ 165. But there is one passage which introduces us to a sub-sect of the Pāśupatas, viz. the Lakulīśas. After an enumeration of the Kalpas, there comes an account of the ages (*yugas*) which form divisions of the present Kalpa. Of these twenty-eight are enumerated, and Śiva promises to become incarnate in each. The last of the prophecies runs that, when Krishna shall be incarnate as Vāsudeva, Śiva, by means of his Yoga powers, will enter a dead body left unguarded in a burning-ground at Kāyārohana, and will appear as an ascetic named Lakulī. Kuśika, Gārgya, Mītra, and Kaurashya will be his disciples, and will practise Pāśupata Yoga, smearing their bodies with ashes and dust.¹

Now an inscription in an old shrine near the temple of Eklingji, fourteen miles from Udaipur, says that Śiva was incarnate in the country of Broach and carried a rod (*lakula*) in his hand, whence the place was called Kāyārohana, i.e. descent in a body. The *Cintā praśasti* says that Śiva became incarnate at Karohana, in the Lāta country, and that, for the strict performance of Pāśupata vows, there appeared in bodily form four pupils, Kuśika, Gārgya, Kaurashya, and Maitreya. Karwar in the Baroda State is held to be the place, and a temple of Lakulīśa still stands there.

We have then, in the prophecy of the *Vāyu*, the earliest notice of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas. The history of the sect has been worked out by Mr. R. D. Bhandarkar. A temple belonging to it was assigned by Fergusson to the seventh century, it can be traced in inscriptions from Rajputana south to Mysore, from the tenth century downwards, and huge numbers of Lakulīśa images have been found in Gujarāt and Rajputana. These images are different from all other images of Śiva: in them the god has but two arms, he holds a short club in one of his hands, and the penis is naked and erect. The two arms find an explanation if Lakulī was a human ascetic; the club is the *lakula* from which he takes his name,

¹ Cf. the account of Pāśupata ascetics in *Atharvasūtras* L. see § 112

and the penis naked and erect recalls the liṅga-passages of the epic discussed above.¹

It thus seems likely that the sect was founded by a Pāśupata ascetic named Lakulī, i.e. the club-bearer, who taught a form of Pāśupata doctrine, and was recognized as an incarnation of Śiva. Since the name Lakulī does not occur in the *Mahābhārata*, it is likely that the sect arose after the epic and before the *Vāyu*, perhaps about the third or fourth century.² Now, given the belief that Śiva has been incarnate in this, the twenty-eighth, Mahāyuga as Lakulī, attended by four disciples, the schematizing Indian imagination, which created a long series of Vaishnava incarnations before Krishna, a long series of Buddhas before Gautama, and a long series of Tīrthakaras before Mahāvīra, would soon discover the names of the other incarnations and of the four disciples of each. The sect would then have a line of divine teachers worthy of comparison with the list of avatāras in the Vaishnava sect, and that is precisely what we have in the *Vāyu*. It is very noticeable that the doctrine of avatāras, which was not adopted at the time of the epic, is now accepted, and that the very form of the story confesses that it is copied from the Krishna-incarnation.

§ 166 It is probable that the bulk of Śaivas throughout this period belonged to no sub sect, but continued their worship of the god in accordance with ancient usage, as so many do to-day, without troubling about sects and theology, but our information is very scanty.

About the Tamil Śaivas a little is known, but there is practically no literature to catalogue. Nakkīra Deva, who lived at some time during the period, seems to have been a writer of eminence, but only one of the works attributed to

¹ See § 110. The epithet *Ūrdhva-retas*, which occurs in these passages, is used here of Lakulīśa ascetics in the sense of 'chaste'.

² This date is certainly very speculative, for the passage may possibly have been interpolated after the writing of the original Purāṇa, but it is at least more likely to be near the date than Bhandarkar's suggestion, the first century A.D.

him is accepted by scholars as genuine, the *Tirumurukattup-padaṁ*, a poem in honour of the god Muṁṁ, i. e. Subrahmanya

F *Brahmā Literature*

§ 167. A Brahmā sect also appears in the literature. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya P.* and in the first Khanda of the *Padma P.*¹ he is identified with the eternal Brahman of the Upanishads. There can be little doubt that these passages belong to this period, for only during these centuries was the sect of Brahmā prominent. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya* he is spoken of as unborn, changeless, imperishable, unknowable, the source of prakṛiti and of souls, while in the *Padma*,

Brahmā and Brahman, the instrument and the first cause of creation, are represented as the same, the primeval, excellent, beneficent, and supreme Brahman in the form of Brahmā and the rest, is the creation and the creator, preserves and is preserved, devours and is devoured, the first immaterial cause being, as is common in the pantheism of the Purāṇas, also the material cause and substance of the universe.²

The greater part of the first Khanda of the *Padma* forms the Pushkara Māhātmya, or panegyric of Pushkara, the holy lake in Rajputana, where stands the one famous temple of Brahmā to-day.

Here we had better also say a word about the doctrine of the Trimūrti, according to which the one supreme Reality is manifested as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. It appears first in two passages in the *Matrāyaṇa U.* In the first of these³ there is merely the statement that the three gods are the highest manifestations of the bodiless Supreme. In the second⁴ it takes philosophical form. as *prakṛiti*, the imperceptible base of nature, consists of three strands, *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*,⁵ so the one Supreme is manifested in the three gods, Viṣṇu being *sattva*, Brahmā *rajas*, and Śiva *tamas*.

¹ The *Padma P.* is named from the lotus in which Brahmā appears at the creation. It was thus a Brahmā Purāṇa from the beginning.

² Wilson, *Works*, III 24.

³ IV. 5-6.

⁴ V. 2.

⁵ See § 147.

Such is the original form of the doctrine. But, since each sect identified its own god with the supreme Brahman, the trimūrti has a distinct form in each. To the Vishṇuite Viṣṇu-Brahman is manifested in three gods, Brahmā, a subordinate Viṣṇu, and Śiva,¹ while to the Śaiva, Śiva-Brahman is manifested in Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Bhava.⁴ A similar scheme was set forth by Sauras,⁵ by the worshippers of Brahmā,⁴ by Gānapatya,⁵ and by Śāktas.⁶ The Nimbāikas and other sects identify Kṛishṇa as distinct from Viṣṇu with Brahman, and thus have a scheme of their own.⁷ The doctrine has never been a living element in the religion of the Hīndu, although it often appears in literature and now and then in sculpture. It may be well to notice how utterly unlike the Christian doctrine of the Trinity this unstable theory is. It always involves four gods, one Supreme and three manifestations, and the phrase in the *Matsya P.* which has been often mistranslated 'One God and three persons', really means 'One image, three gods',⁸ and it does not cover the one Reality behind these manifestations.

G. Durgā Literature.

§ 168. The worship of the goddess Durgā also comes to the surface in the literature at this point. The earliest passage occurs in the *Mahābhārata*,⁹ and celebrates Durgā as the slayer of Mahisha, and as a virgin goddess, who dwells in the Vindhya mountains, delights in wine, flesh, and animal sacrifice, and upholds heaven by her chastity, but is also the sister of Kṛishṇa,¹⁰ and like him is dark blue in colour and

¹ *MBH.* III. cclxxii. 46

² *Linga P.* I xviii 12; *Muir, OST.* IV. 330

³ *Rāmāyana*, VI. cvi 19. Cf *Wilson, Sects*, I. 19.

⁴ *Mārkaṇḍeya, P.* xlv. 19

⁵ *ERE.* VI 175 f.

⁶ See *Avalon, TGL* xxiv.

⁷ *Bhandarkar, VS.* 79, *Wilson, Works*, III. 93.

⁸ *Ekā mūrtis trayo devāḥ.* It is suggested by images such as the trimūrti in the Elephanta cave

⁹ IV. vi.

¹⁰ This refers to the story of Yoganidrā, which appears first in the *Harvanīśa* and the *Viṣṇu P.*

wears a crest of peacock feathers. Here, as it would seem, a virgin goddess worshipped by the wild tribes of the Vindhya has become connected with the Krishna myth. No connexion with Śiva is suggested.

The next passage is also from the epic,¹ and is noteworthy for this, that while the goddess is still connected with the Krishna legend, and is represented as delighting in the blood of Mahisha, she is now definitely made the wife of Śiva, and is addressed as Umā. She is also identified with the Vedas, the Vedānta, chastity, and many other things, but is no longer regarded as a virgin.

Two hymns in the *Harivaṃśa*,² and the episode in the *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, known as the *Devī-māhātmya* or *Chandī-mahātmya*, show a still greater advance. The *Harivaṃśa* probably dates from the fourth, and cannot be later than the fifth, century, and the *Chandī-māhātmya* almost certainly comes from the sixth century at latest, for it forms the chief background of Bāna's *Chandīsataka*, an ode to Chandī in a hundred verses which was written at the court of the emperor Haisha early in the seventh century.³ The narrative of the *Chandī-māhātmya* celebrates the mighty deeds of the goddess and refers to her daily worship and autumnal festival, while the three hymns contained in it and the hymns from the *Harivaṃśa* contain the theology of the cult.

A Devī-worshipping sect is here formed, and by the same method as we have seen adopted by the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas: the Devī is identified with the Brahman of the Upanishads, and is thus made the one Reality, and set far above all other divinities. The concept of the divine *śakti*⁴ finds here its earliest expression. The idea seems to spring from the conviction that the Supreme, if he is to remain

¹ VI. xxiii

² Chaps. lix and clxvi

³ The argument of Mr. R. D. Bhandarkar, *JBBRAS* XXIII. 74, is scarcely convincing; for the line in question may, conceivably, have been a common ascription of praise, and thus, as it stands in the inscription, may not be a quotation from the *Chandī* at all

⁴ *Mārkaṇḍeya P* XCI 4; 10

beyond the sway of the law of karma, must be inactive. But if the god is inactive, may not his spouse be his *śakti*, energy, and be extremely active? Hence she is more worthy of worship, and the practical man will be more inclined to apply to her when he wants to get something done for him.

The narrative describes in great detail the furious fights in which the goddess destroyed certain demons who were threatening the gods. Here her limitless power and her terrific appearance find forcible, even ghastly, expression. She devours unnumbered foes and drinks their blood. There is no detailed account given of her cult, but it is clear that animal sacrifice was offered, and flesh and wine were used. It is probable that human sacrifice was also practised. The goddess promises that she will never desert a temple in which the *Devī-māhātmya* is read daily, and this document is still one of the chief works in use among Śāktas. It is also called the *Chandī*, from one of the names of the goddess, and the *Saptasatī*, because it runs to seven hundred couplets.

As the story of Yoganidīā is not told in the *Mahābhārata*, but first appears in the *Harivamśa* and the *Vishnu P.*, the hymns in the Epic are probably later than the main sections of the didactic Epic, while the hymn in the *Harivamśa* and the *Devī-māhātmya* are still later.¹

II Saura Literature.

§ 169. The sun was worshipped in several forms in the time of the *Rigveda*, and the prominence of the cult may be partially gauged by the supremacy of the Gāyatrī among Vedic prayers. In the form of morning and evening prayer finally arranged for all twice-born men the sun has an established place.²

In the great Epic we meet for the first time the sect of Sun-worshippers, the Sauras. When Yudhisṭhira leaves his chamber in the morning, he encounters one thousand

¹ For a full exposition of these early passages see Bhandarkar, *VS.* 142.

² *Ib.*, 151 f.

Brāhman Sun-worshippers who have eight thousand followers,¹ and the theology of the sect appears in a number of documents belonging to this period, notably passages in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, and an inscription of the fifth century. The character of the passage from the *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, as compared with the other Saura documents here dealt with, proves that it belongs to this period. Sūrya is the eternal Brahman, the supreme Spirit, the Self-existent, the Unborn, the soul of all creatures, the cause of all things, the foundation of the world. On him ascetics desirous of emancipation meditate. He is the Vedas and all the gods. He is the Lord of Brahmā, Vishnu, and Siva. Thus far the sect and its ideas seem to be purely Hindu.

§ 170 But as early as the first century A.D. the Persian sun-god, Mithra (Sanskrit, *Mithra*), was introduced into North India; for his name and effigy appear on coins.² Then, at later dates, there is much fuller evidence in the literature of the presence of Persian elements in the cult of the sun. The first fragment is a line which occurs in the *Vishnu P.* and elsewhere, the original reading of which speaks of Magas as the Brāhmans of Śākadvīpa, i.e. of Magians as the priests of the Scythian country, or Iian.³ Next in age, probably, comes the Brāhma Paivan of the *Bhaviṣya P.* Sāmba, the son of Krishna, according to this authority, was afflicted with leprosy and was cleansed by the help of Sūrya. In gratitude to the god he built a temple in his honour where Multan now stands, and, as a result of instructions received from Nārada, took a miraculous journey to Śākadvīpa, and brought thence Magian priests for the temple. The narrative mentions Zoroaster, the Zoroastrian girdle, *Avaṅga*, the twigs, *Barson*, which the Magian priest holds in his hand during worship, and other particulars. The rule is also laid down that the installation and consecration of images and temples of the

¹ *MBH.* VII. lxxxii 14-16

² Chanda, *IAR*, 225.

³ *Vishnu P.* II. iv 69-70. *MBH.* VI. xi 35-8.

sun should be carried out by Magians. Varāha Mihira, whose name proclaims him a devotee of Mihira, and who was an authority on astronomy and astrology, wrote about A D 550.¹ He makes it plain that in his day Sūrya was represented in his images in Persian fashion, and he lays down the rule for the installation and consecration of these images and their temples by Magians, using the very *śloka*² which occurs in the Purāṇa. This unique passage then in the *Bhavishya P.* with its extremely accurate reflection of Zoroastrian practice and ideas, and its agreement with Varāha Mihira, is much more likely to belong to this period than the next. It is probable, as Bloch argues,³ that the name Sāmba is taken from the ancient Persian tale of Sam, and also that the theory that the sun-god cures leprosy, which was long current in India, comes from Persia. Since, however, the name of the god, Sūrya, and the name of the sect, Saura, are Sanskrit, and since the whole of the theology is, like the Śaiva theology, a reflex of the teaching of the *Gītā*, it is clear that the sect was purely Hindu in origin, and that the Zoroastrian features are secondary.

ii. BUDDHISM.

§ 171. In India, during the three centuries of this period, the Mahāyāna reached the summit of its strength and splendour, and several branches of the Hīnayāna continued to show great vigour. In Ceylon, during the fourth and fifth centuries, there was a great outburst of literary activity, almost exclusively the work of monks. The religion also continued to make progress in Khotan and Kucha in Central Asia, where, in addition to Zoroastrian propaganda, it now had to face both Christianity and Manichaeism.⁴ In China

¹ Macdonell, 318

² *Bṛihat S.*, LX 19. Vasu, *Mayūrabhaṅga*, 3, assumes that the *śloka* is quoted from the *Bhavishya P.*, and on that basis dates the passage before A D 550, but the *śloka* may have been in common use; we cannot be sure that it is quoted from the Purāṇa by Varāha Mihira.

³ *ZDMG.* 1910, 733

⁴ *ERE.* art. 'Manichaeism'.

great advances were made. At the beginning of the fourth century the emperor gave permission, for the first time, to his subjects to become Buddhist monks¹. Henceforward the faith laid a far stronger hold on the people. In A.D. 372 Chinese monks introduced the religion into Korea², and in A.D. 399 Fa Hian, the first Chinese pilgrim to leave home in search of Buddhist learning and texts, arrived in India.

A *Hīnayāna Literature.*

§ 172. We take Hīnayāna literature first, and begin with Ceylon. The monks there made full use of all the commentaries on the sacred books which were procurable from India, but they soon began to write themselves. At first they translated these Indian works into Sinhalese, leaving only the verses scattered about in the prose untranslated, but at last they began to try what they could do in Pāli, which had become to them the sacred language of their religion. Hence in the fourth century there opened a brilliant period of Pāli literary activity. Amid the numerous works prepared at this time perhaps the most interesting is the *Nidānakathā*, an introduction to the commentary on the Jātaka-book, which shows that devotion for the Buddha was moving forward in Ceylon on the same lines as in North India, though more slowly.

This expository activity culminated in Buddhaghosha. He seems to have been born a Brāhman and to have become an accomplished Hindu scholar; but, converted to Buddhism, he became a monk and laboured in the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura, Ceylon, in the first half of the fifth century A.D. He absorbed the whole Buddhist system as taught there with all its learning, and became its classic representative. His first work was the *Visuddhimagga*, or Way of Purity, a systematic exposition of the Buddhism of the Pāli books of very high quality. Thereafter he composed, on the basis of all the Sinhalese and Pāli work done before him, a series of great

¹ Hackmann, 78.

² Ib 85

commentaries on the chief books of the Pāli canon. In these works, while the life of the Buddha as a monk is still clearly realized, he is also thought of as a sort of divine being exercising cosmic powers, as in the Mahāyāna. Dhammapāla, a scholar trained also in the Mahāvihāra, lived on the coast of India opposite Ceylon and wrote Pāli commentaries at a date a little later. His conception and outlook are the same as Buddhaghosha's.

The *Dīpavamsa*, the Island Chronicle, and the *Mahāvamsa*, the great Chronicle, are Pāli epics, the former an artless work in rough language written in the fourth century, the latter a work of genius, comparable with the great Indian *kāvyas*, composed in the last quarter of the fifth century. Both rest on irregular notes of events kept in the Mahāvihāra and ancient Pāli verses scattered in the commentaries, and both are partly historical but largely legendary.

§ 173. We know very little about the history of the Hīnayāna sects in India or about fresh literature composed by them during the period; but it is quite clear that they were very active in propagating their teaching in China and in Central Asia, for a great deal of their literature was translated. The permission granted at the beginning of the fourth century to the Chinese to become monks led to the translation of the Vinaya texts of four Hīnayāna schools within a period of twenty years, A.D. 404-24.

We take the ancient Canon first. The four leading collections of the Sūtra Pitaka—the Dīgha, Madhyama, Saṃyukta, and Ekottara Āgamas, as they are called in Sanskrit—were translated into Chinese.¹ Three distinct renderings of the *Dharmapada*² are mentioned.

Of Sthavira texts the *Questions of King Milinda*,³ Buddhaghosha's commentary on the Vinaya Pitaka,⁴ and scores of little tracts were translated into Chinese.⁵

¹ Nanjio, 545, 542, 544, 543.

² Ib. 1365, 1353, 1321.

³ Ib. 1358.

⁴ Winternitz, II. 1 152.

⁵ Nanjio, 615, 638, 645, 665, 670; 674, 693, 696, 698-700, 703, 707-10, 761, 1113, 1327.

The Sarvāstivādins were probably the most vigorous of the Hīnayāna schools. The influence of their philosophy, known as Vaibhāṣika, is shown by Vasubandha's criticism, which Saṅghabhadra attempted to answer in his *Nyāyānusāra-sāstra*. Two of the chief books of their Vinaya were translated into Chinese in A. D. 404,¹ and, probably about the same time, parts were rendered into Kuchean.² It is probable that much of their Sutra Piṭaka was translated into Chinese, but it is impossible as yet to identify the texts. Parts of the Sanskrit originals have been found in Central Asia.³ The chief text of the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma was translated into Chinese in A. D. 383,⁴ and at the same time, or rather later, several of the Abhidharma commentaries.⁵ The old Sarvāstivādin Buddha-biography had now become the famous Mahāyāna work, the *Lalitā Vistara*.⁶

It was the Mahāsaṅghika Ekottara Āgama that was rendered into Chinese in A. D. 384-5,⁷ and their Vinaya followed in A. D. 416.⁸

The Dharmagupta and the Mahīśāsaka schools, which were related to the Sarvāstivādins, were also active. The Dharmaguptas had a famous life of the Buddha, the *Abhinishkramana Sutra*, which was in use during this period. The Dharmagupta Vinaya was translated into Chinese in A. D. 405,⁹ and fragments of Vinaya texts in mixed Sanskrit, written during our period, have been found in Kuchar in Central Asia, which show a close relationship at least with the Dharmagupta texts.¹⁰

The Mahīśāsaka Vinaya was the last of the four to be rendered into Chinese. It was done in A. D. 424.¹¹

Finally we may take here Āiśāśūra's famous work, the *Jātakamālā*, which seems to belong to the fourth century.

¹ Nanjio, 1115, 1160. Two of the commentaries on the Vinaya were also translated; 1135, 1136.

² Hoernle, *MRBL* 357 ff.

³ Nanjio, 1273.

⁴ § 174.

⁵ Nanjio, 1119.

⁶ Hoernle, *MRBL* 4, 9.

⁷ Ib 166 ff.

⁸ Ib 1264, 1279, 1289.

⁹ *ERE* IV 836, Nanjio, 543.

¹⁰ Nanjio, 1117.

¹¹ Nanjio, 1122.

He belonged to the school of Āśvaghoṣa, and his brilliant series of Buddhist tales has many of the qualities of the *Sūtrā-lankāra*.

B. *Māhāyāna Literature.*

§ 174. We take Mahāyāna literature next. It is quite clear that the Great Vehicle grew and extended during our period more rapidly than the Hīnayāna, thus proving itself better fitted for the circumstances of the time than the older school. The *Lalitā Vistara*, one of the greatest of Buddhist books, seems to have reached its present condition at some time during our period. Originally the Buddha-biography of the Saivāstivādins, it was taken over by Mahayanists and re-written, possibly by several hands. Although written partly in verse and partly in prose, and consisting of material drawn from many sources, early and late, it is yet a unity, a work of genuine epic strength and interest, and charged with religious belief and feeling which carried it to every part of central and eastern Asia.

The Buddha is conceived as the Supreme, boundless in power and wisdom, and he is represented as surrounded by multitudes of Bodhisattvas nearing Buddhahood. In the middle watch of the night, while he sits in profound meditation, there shoots out from the crown of his head a ray of light which passes through the heavens and rouses all the gods to attention. They sing a hymn of praise to the exalted Buddha, and, throwing themselves at his feet, beg him to reveal the *Lalitā Vistara* to the world. Yet, though the writers of the Mahāyāna thus raise the Buddha to the place of the Supreme, they do not make him altogether a god: they retain some consciousness of his human life, and recognize that he possessed a real body which has left actual relics on the earth.

A new edition of the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*,¹ containing six fresh chapters,² appeared, probably early in the third

¹ Nanjio, 138.

² Chaps xxi-vi. *SBE*. XXI

century; for it was translated into Chinese about A. D. 300. One of these chapters, chap. xxi, deals with *dhāraṇīs*, spells, i. e. words, phrases, or prayers believed to be filled with magic power, and marks the time when this particular superstition laid firm hold of the Mahāyāna. The next chapter tells how the Bodhisattva Bhaiṣajyarāja, i. e. King of Medicine, burnt his body in honour of the Buddha, and young Buddhists are urged to burn a finger, a toe, or a whole limb, in order to win great merit. Thus the old Hindu *tapas*, self-torture, which Gautama condemned utterly, has reappeared in Buddhism. Another chapter describes and explains the transformation which the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara undergoes in his efforts to save men. No matter how frightful may be the danger a man stands in, this chapter affirms that, if he but think of Avalokiteśvara, he will be saved. This explains how, transformed into a goddess, he became a divinity of mercy to China and Japan.

§ 175. Several fresh books belonging to the Paradise Mahāyāna seem to have been written during the period. Two of these become very famous, the shorter *Sukhāvatī* and the *Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra*. The shorter *Sukhāvatī* is scarcely perceptibly different in teaching from the larger work. The main purpose of the *Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra* is to teach people by meditation to see the paradise Sukhāvatī in hypnotic vision, so that through this meditation they may obtain entrance to it at death, but it also shows in some degree the influence of the Mādhyamika school and of the Vedānta. Vasubandhu's *Aparamitāyus-sūtra-śāstra* sums up the texts of the Paradise Mahāyāna.

To the same general type of teaching belong three famous sūtras. The early prose *Kāraṇḍavyūha* glorifies the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, who is made so much of in the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (or *Gaṇḍavyūha*) is devoted to another Bodhisattva, Mañjuśrī,¹ while the *Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka* tells of a Buddha named Padmottara, i. e. Supreme

¹ ERE. I. 95.

Lotus, and his wonderful paradise, Padmadhātu, i.e. Lotus-land.

The *Mahāsannipāta*, of which the writer has no description, gave its name to a class of works in the Chinese Canon. The *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* and the *Samādhi-āja* represent the full Mahāyāna teaching veiging towards the magic spells, the trances, the goddesses, and the inchoate theism of the Tantras.

All these Mahāyāna works were translated into Chinese.

§ 176. One of the developments of Mahāyāna Buddhology belonging to this period occurs so frequently that it had better be mentioned here. Each Buddha has three bodies, the *dharma-kāya*, or body consisting of the law, construed by the Mādhyamakas as the void, by the Vijñānavādins in an idealist sense, the *sambhogakāya*, or body of bliss, which he wears for ever in his supramundane state and which is comparable with the glorious bodies of the great Hindu gods, and the *nirmāṇa-kāya*, the formed or magical body, which he wore on earth, and which is comparable with the body of a Hindu avatāra.¹

a. *The Mādhyamakas.*

§ 177 Teachers of the Mādhyamaka philosophy were clearly very active during the period. Āryadeva seems to have followed Nāgārjuna in the first half of the third century. Nanjio gives a list of his commentaries and original works. The last of these, the *Svādhishthāna-prabheda*, has recently been found in Nepal. Two of the most famous of the Prajñā texts, the *Vajracchhedikā Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Prajñāpāramitā hṛdaya-sūtra*, seem to belong to this period. Max Müller says that the *Vajracchhedikā* is 'one of the most widely read and most highly valued metaphysical treatises in Buddhist literature', while the *Hṛdaya-sūtra* is 'the most widely read Buddhist text in Japan'. Proof of the popularity of the *Vajracchhedikā* in Khotan is found in the complete MS. of the original Sanskrit text, and the MS. of the old Khotanese version, both found by Sir Aurel Stein and now published

¹ Poussin, *ERE.* I 97

There is also a famous Mādhyamaka work on the ten stages (*bhūmis*) of the career of the Bodhisattva, called the *Daśa-bhūmika-sūtra*, on which Vasubandhu wrote a commentary.¹ It was originally a chapter of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*.

b. *The Vijñānavādins.*

§ 178 A new Buddhist philosophy of very great importance arose about A.D. 300, the leading writer being Asaṅga, the eldest of three Brāhman brothers, who became Buddhists of the Saivāstivādin school. Asaṅga, however, soon passed over to the Mahāyāna. His idealist system has two names: from the side of its metaphysics it is called *Vijñānavāda*, 'Thought-system,' because it teaches that nothing exists except thought, while from the side of its practice it is called *Yogācāra*, Yoga-practice, because the end can be reached only by the long-continued practice of meditation. The external world is illusion: only thought exists. All individual intellectual products are also mere phenomena, products of the *ālaya-vijñāna*, the storehouse of intellectual impressions and forms in each individual, which is the sole foundation of the false belief in the existence of a self. But even the *ālayavijñāna* itself has but a relative reality as compared with the one and universal *bodhi*, 'Wisdom,' which is held and manifested by all Buddhas. In order to attain bodhi, it is necessary to become a Bodhisattva under the Mahāyāna, and practise *yogācāra* through all the *bhūmis*, stages, of the Bodhisattva career. Yet in this intellectual philosophy the use of *dhāraṇis*, spells, is constantly commended, and the belief that the Bodhisattva attains vast miraculous powers, *vibhūti*, is explicitly taught. The foundation text is Asaṅga's *Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra*, which survives only in Chinese, and is the chief scripture of the Shin-gon sect of Japan.² One chapter, however, called the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, was used as a separate work and survives in Sanskrit. It deals with the stages of the Bodhisattva career, and is thus the Vijñānavādin work corresponding to

¹ Nanjio, 1194.

² Griffis, *RJ.* 249.

the Mādhyamaka *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* ¹ Another work of his, the *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra*, is a set of kārīkās, or memorial verses, accompanied by a prose commentary, the commentary as well as the text being by Asaṅga. It is a clear, systematic statement of the philosophy. He left other works ² also. The famous text-book, *Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra*, attributed to Aśvaghosha, seems to teach Asaṅga's system.

The *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*, one of the greatest Mahāyāna texts, represents the Buddha as visiting Rāvana in Ceylon. The teaching is Viññānavādin, yet in some points it seems to go beyond Asaṅga and to draw very near the teaching of the Vedānta, that the human soul is God. It is a controversial work and attacks the Sāṅkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Pāśupata, and other Hindu systems.

§ 179. Vasubandhu, ¹ Asaṅga's youngest brother, passed over to the Mahāyāna at a fairly late date. Hence his works are partly Hīnayāna, partly Mahāyāna. His greatest work, the *Abhidharma-kośa*, is founded on the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma, and has very close connexions with its chief scripture yet he has expressed in this work the fundamental conceptions of Buddhism with so much skill and clearness that it is a standard work with all the sects. Chinese and Tibetan translations survive, but the original Sanskrit is lost. The *Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā*, however, a commentary on it in Sanskrit by Yaśomitra, survives, and is much used by modern scholars. Amongst his many works we may mention his *Tarka-sāstra*, ⁴ the earliest systematic logic by a Buddhist, and the *Paramārthasaptati*, a refutation in seventy verses of the seventy verses of the *Sāṅkhya Kārika* ⁵

§ 180. A very large number of texts, Hīnayāna as well as Mahāyāna, were translated into Chinese during this period. Then, in A.D. 518, almost at the end of the period, the first collection of Buddhist Chinese texts was made by order of

¹ See § 177, and cf. *ERE.* II 745.

² Nanjio, 1245, 1184, 1236.

³ For his date see § 146.

⁴ Nanjio, 1252; *Vidyabhūṣaṇa*, *MSIL.* 76.

⁵ See § 146.

the Emperor, and in 520 a list of the books in the Tripitaka as translated was drawn up, which still survives.¹ Chinese Buddhism thus created a sacred canon of its own. Towards the end of our period Chinese Buddhism had become so great that, in A.D. 526, the Patriarch of the Buddhist Church was removed from India to China.²

iii. JAINISM

§ 181. The history of Jainism during this period is not yet well known but it seems to have continued to make progress in many parts of the country. The Digambaras were active in the Kanatese country³ and also in Tamil-land. Śvetāmbara Jains were clearly growing in influence and numbers in North India from Bihar in the east to Kathiawar in the west. The collection and publication of the Śvetāmbara Canon at Valabhi at the beginning of the sixth century gives vivid expression to the fact that Kathiawar had now become the leading centre of Jain influence. As the Buddhist sects created from the living vernaculars of the day several literary dialects (e.g. Māgadhī, Pāli, mixed Sanskrit) and used them for their sacred books, so the Jains created their own sacred dialect, which they call Ardha-Māgadhī, i.e. Half-Māgadhī, but which modern scholars usually call Jain Piākṛit. In this ancient speech, then, the books of the Śvetāmbara Canon, and also a number of Digambara works, are written. But in Jain commentaries, tales, and poems we meet with a younger Piākṛit which is called Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, because, though it is closely related to, it is not yet identical with, Māhārāṣṭrī, the linguistic ancestor of modern Marāṭhī.⁴ But Jain writers from the time of the Gupta empire used Sanskrit when they wanted to appeal to the learned public of India in treatises on philosophic and religious subjects.

¹ Nanjo, p. xxvii.

² Hackmann, 80.

³ See a long series of Digambara inscriptions Guérinot, 224.

⁴ Pischel, *G.P.S.* p. 19. Winternitz, I. 14, Jacobi, *ERE* VII. 467.

A' *Śvetāmbara Literature.*

§ 182. We begin with Śvetāmbara literature. Jain tradition tells us that the books of the Canon were collected, edited, and reduced to writing at Valabhi in a Council of which Devarddhī was president, 980 years after the death of Mahāvīra. The initial date may have been held to be either 527 B.C. or 467 B.C. Jacobi is inclined to take the latter, which would give us A.D. 514 as the date of the Council. As the gathering of the Council and the arrangement and publication of the voluminous books of the Canon would involve considerable organization and expense, and as the dynasty of Valabhi rose to power about A.D. 490 or 495,¹ it would seem to be more likely that the great task was undertaken in A.D. 514 than sixty years earlier. It is thus probable that the Śvetāmbara Canon dates from the beginning of the sixth century. It will be remembered that the Canon said to have been arranged at Pataliputra consisted of twelve Anga.² Tradition runs that the fourteen Pūva, which formed the contents of the twelfth Anga, were gradually lost in the following centuries, but that the eleven were faithfully preserved and incorporated in the new Canon at Valabhi. According to a list in the Canon, there were sixty treatises included in it besides the Anga.³

§ 183. Jains acknowledge that these sixty books came into existence in the interval between the two Councils, and there are certain traditions about the authorship of several of the documents.⁴ Jacobi gives it as his opinion that these sixty books were collected 'probably in the first centuries before our era', and that 'additions or alterations may have been made' down to the time of the Council at Valabhi;⁵ while Weber⁶ gives it as his opinion that the compilation of the Anga as well as the other books took place between the second and the fifth centuries A.D. In any case there must have been

¹ V. Smith, *EHI.* 327; Mabel Duff, *CI* 308.

² See § 70.

³ In the *Nandisūtra*. Weber, *IA.* XVII 283.

⁴ Weber, *IA.* xvii 281.

⁵ *SBE.* XLV [p. xi.

⁶ *IA.* XVII 289.

a good deal of literary activity between A.D. 200 and 500. It is probable that the *Nandīsūtra* and part of the *Kalpasūtra* are by Devarddhī himself¹

§ 184 We must now ask what has happened to the books of the Canon since the beginning of the sixth century, and we are at once confronted with the fact that a very large part of the contents have been lost. The Canon to-day consists of forty-five documents. Weber² calculates that of the books other than the *Angas* edited at Valabhi nearly as many have been lost as there are preserved. But the disappearance of a large number of the books is not the only fact to be noticed. Jacobi and Weber³ tell us that many of the surviving works consist of incoherent parts, and that the commentaries, based on texts older than those available to-day, show that large sections have disappeared, while numerous passages have been interpolated. The texts are thus in a very unsatisfactory condition.

§ 185. We now turn to extra-canonical literature. Two of the most famous of the early writers were connected with Pātaliputra, and apparently flourished during the time of Gupta prosperity. Umāsvāti tells us himself⁴ that he wrote the *Tattvārthādhyāna-sūtra* at Pātaliputra. It is a philosophical work, comparable with the *sūtras* which lie at the foundation of the Hindu philosophies, and deals with all the main constituents of the Jain system. It has been much used by both the sects. As the work refers to Patañjali's *Yoga-sūtra*,⁵ while a commentary on it was written by Siddhasenagani, whose date is the first half of the sixth century, it is probable that Umāsvāti belongs to the fifth or the fourth century. Tradition connects Siddhasena Divākara also with Pātaliputra, and he is quoted by Siddhasenagani, so that he too belongs to the time of Gupta dominance, whether to the fourth

¹ Weber, *IA*. XVII. 291, XXI. 213. Jacobi, *SBE* XXII. lii

² *IA* XXI. 373

³ Jacobi, *Kalpasūtra*, 18 f., Weber, *IA* XVII. 237 ff.

⁴ Vidyābhūṣana, *MSIL* 9

⁵ Woods, *Yoga*, vii

of the fifth century. He wrote a hymn of praise in Sanskrit verse, the *Kalyāṇamandirastotra*, which Jains greatly treasure, also the *Nyāyavatāra*, a Sanskrit poem in thirty-two short stanzas, which forms the earliest Jain work on Logic.

Siddhasenagaṇi seems to have been a contemporary of Devarddhi and to have been one of the earliest of those who wrote bhāṣhyas¹ in Prākṛit on the books of the Canon. He is also the author of the first commentary on Umāsvāti's great work. He is thus parallel to Vātsyāyana and Śabara Svāmīn² who wrote their bhāṣhyas a little earlier.

§ 186. It seems clear that the Jains of Gujarāt began to produce a popular literature in Prākṛit at a very early date, and there is abundant evidence to show that down to the ninth century at least they continued to produce a copious and varied Prākṛit literature, which must have proved of large service to general culture. From our period only one Jain work of importance in Prākṛit seems to have survived, but Jacobi assures us that its statements and its style unite to prove that many Prākṛit works preceded it. It is called the *Paṭimachāriya*, and is a Jain adaptation of the *Rāmāyana* of Vālmiki. The author is said to have been Vimala Sūri. Jacobi is inclined to place it in the third or fourth century.³ It is thus almost as early as Hāla's famous anthology, the *Sattasaī*.

B Digambara Literature

§ 187. The Digambaras possess no ancient Canon parallel to the Śvetāmbara books. As we have seen above,⁴ they have a list of sacred books which they say they once possessed, but which are now no more. They pronounce the Śvetāmbara books apocryphal, and there is this amount of truth in the charge that the Śvetambaras undoubtedly modified the

¹ For the *niryuktas* and *bhāṣhyas* see Leumann, *ZDMG* XLVI. 581 ff.

² See § 153.

³ For the whole subject see Jacobi's article in the *Modern Review* (Calcutta), Dec. 1914.

⁴ See § 135.

ancient books, after the separation, so as to bring them into full consonance with their own standards. Yet among the books which the Digambaras possess, and which have a place in their Secondary Canon,¹ there are at least two which bear the names of books of the Śvetāmbara Canon, viz. the *Sūryaprajñapti*, and the *Chandraprajñapti*. The whole problem of the relation of the Digambaras to the early literature needs to be cleared up.

§ 188. But there are two Digambara writers who seem to belong to our period and whose works are well known to-day. One is Vattakera, author of the *Mūlāchāra*, a work on conduct. It corresponds to the *Āchārāṅga-sūtra* of the Śvetāmbara Canon, and is said to be an adaptation and summary of that work. Another book on conduct, the *Trivarnāchāra*, is also attributed to him. The other writer is one of the greatest names in early Digambara history, Kundakundāchārya. Ten fundamental works of great importance, which have been much expounded and studied, were written by him. They are in Piākrit verse and deal with the whole Digambara system. It seems to be impossible as yet to fix the dates of these men.

¹ See § 257.

CHAPTER V

THE ŚĀKTA SYSTEMS

A. D. 550-900.

§ 189 The date with which our chapter opens is meant to coincide with the time when the Śākta systems began to appear; for they are unquestionably the most noteworthy product of these times. The exaltation and the adoration of goddesses is manifestly the first characteristic of these new theologies, but other forms of faith and practice were very prominent—an immense extension of the use of magic spells, a belief in the existence of occult channels and ganglia in the human frame, and in the presence of the goddess herself—coiled up like a snake and asleep—in the chief ganglion; a new type of hypnotic meditation believed to be potent to wake the goddess, and, in some sects, the inclusion in the cult of foul, gruesome, and degrading practices.

During this period the sects became more highly organized than ever before. In addition to the Śākta element already described, each sect was expected to possess an Upanishad and a manual;—the Upanishad to prove that its teaching had come by revelation and was in full consonance with the Vedānta; the manual to provide a statement of the theology of the sect, a directory of its occult yoga practice, rules of conduct and ritual, and directions for the preparation of images and the building of temples. Each sect had its own order of sannyāsīs. Each was also expected to train a number of gurus for its cultured members. The layman received initiation, *dīkshā*, and regular instruction in the philosophical theology of the sect from his guru just like an

ascetic. Finally, each sect had its own mantra and sect-mark, *tilaka*

One of the most noticeable features of the period is the great series of philosophic thinkers and exegetes who adorned the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, chiefly in the North. Scarcely less important is the great company of itinerant poet-musicians, both Vaishṇava and Śaiva, who filled the temples of the Tamil country with their devotion and their song.

Buddhism was carried to Japan in the sixth, and to Tibet in the seventh century, while long-continued emigration carried both Hinduism and Buddhism to Cambodia, Sumatra, and Java. But India received as well as gave. A company of Persian Zoroastrians, hunted to the death by their Muhammadan conquerors, found asylum in India at the beginning of the eighth century. their descendants are the Parsis of to-day.

i HINDUISM.

A *The Philosophers*

a. *The Karma Mīmāṃsā.*

§ 190. During the first half of the period, the Karma Mīmāṃsā produced two famous scholars, Prabhākara, who is known as Guṇa, and Kumāṇila, who is called Bhaṭṭa. Both expounded Śābara's *Bhāṣya*, but they differed in some degree in their interpretation of the system and founded rival schools. The date of Prabhākara is unknown, but it is clear that he preceded Kumāṇila. His work, the *Bṛīhaṭī*, is purely an exposition of the *Bhāṣya*—he does not criticize Śābara.¹ Kumāṇila, who seems to have lived in the first half of the eighth century,² wrote a commentary on the *Bhāṣya* in three parts, in which he frequently differs from Śābara.

a. *Śloka-vārtika* verse on the first part of Chap. I.

¹ Jhā, *PSPM* 12.

² Pāthak, *JBRAS* 1892, 227

b. *Tantravārtika* prose on the rest of Chap. I and Chaps. II and III.

c. *Ṭiptikā*. prose brief notes on Chaps. IV to XII.

Prabhākara's teaching was further expounded by his own disciple, Sālikānātha, while Mandaramiśra, also called Sures-varāchārya, a disciple of Śāṅkara, wrote several works on Kumāṛila's system. His *Vidhuvveka* was in turn expounded in the *Nyāya-Kaṇikā* by Vāchaspatimiśra, whose position is explained below.

Both Prabhākara and Kumāṛila maintain the original atheism of the system, denying that divine action is needed in creation, or in apportioning merit and demerit to souls. Both also hold a realistic view of the universe; but they differ on the question whether the soul is pure consciousness or not, on the nature of perception, of inference, and of logical categories.¹

Kumāṛila proved the more potent influence of the two both within the school and without. He attacks Buddhists frequently in his works; and tradition asserts that he used every means to discredit and weaken them wherever he went in his scholarly journeys, and that he invoked the civil power to persecute them. What the historical facts are, we cannot tell, but it is probable that strong action lies behind a tradition so widespread and persistent. His activity is to be explained as the first vigorous manifestation of the spirit of modern Hinduism. He represents the system which takes its stand on the authority of the Vedas and of the Brāhman priests, recognizes a mass of sects within that ample fence, and opposes every other system vehemently.

§ 191 It is of importance to observe that *mukti*, final release, appears in the system for the first time in Prabhākara and Kumāṛila. During the interval between Jaimini and these thinkers Release had become a matter of such moment to the Hindu mind that it could no longer be evaded. They teach

¹ For both systems see Jhā, *PSPM*, and Keith, *JRAS* 1916, 369. Also Jhā, *Bhandarkar* C I' 167.

that release is won when both *dharma* and *adharma* disappear, and that he who desires release should therefore perform only necessary duties.¹

§ 192. It is a most interesting fact that by the time of Kumāṇḍa's activity, the ancient Vedic sacrificial system, which the Kaima Mīmāṃsā expounds, was steadily decaying. Everywhere temple-worship and the presentation of offerings to images tended to take the place of the ancient ordinances, and the movement went on with increasing force after his day. Yet the Mīmāṃsā maintained its place, because it provided rules for the exposition of the Vedic literature, which all scholars required to use. Although the Kaima Mīmāṃsā is the one system recognized by all Smṛtias, the changes which have arisen in their practice seem to have left no trace in the system itself.

b. *The Vedānta.*

§ 193. The earliest surviving commentary on the *Vedānta sūtras* is by the great Śaṅkara, who flourished in the first half of the ninth century, but there is abundance of evidence to show that a long line of writers and students of the Vedānta filled the centuries between the time of the sūtras and his day. We have already seen that three types of theory were current within the school before the sūtras were composed.² Various doctrines were also held after that event; for between the sūtras and Śaṅkara there were representatives both of the strict monism which he upholds and of the modified monism taught much later by Rāmānuja.³ One of the strict monists, Gaṇḍapāda by name, the teacher of Śaṅkara's teacher, is the author of a very noteworthy poem which is appended to the *Māṇḍūkya U* and is known as the *Māṇḍūkya Kārikā*.⁴ So far as we know, he wrote no commentary on the sūtras, but

¹ Jhā, *PSPM* 83 ff.

² § 145

³ § 284

⁴ Walleser, *DAV.*, contends that the name Gaṇḍapāda is a mistake, that the writer's name has not been handed down, and that Buddhist evidence proves that the *Kārikā* was already in existence by A.D. 550. Scholars are inclined to think that the balance of evidence is in favour

his *Kārikā* has a very special interest for us as the earliest, or at least the earliest surviving, document of the school of monism and illusion. It is a work of genius, brilliant alike in conception and expression. Deussen¹ compares him to Parmenides. He also wrote commentaries on a number of Upanishads. He must have flourished about the middle of the eighth century. From information found in the works of Śankara and Rāmānuja we are able to give the names of three writers earlier than Śankara who taught a theistic interpretation of the sūtras similar to Rāmānuja's doctrine, namely Bodhāyana, author of a *vr̥tti*, Tañka, author of a *vākya*, and Drāmida, author of a *bhāshya* on the sūtras².

§ 194. Śankara was the name assumed by a sannyāsī born at Kaladī in the north of Travancore, probably in A.D. 788. He became a brilliant scholar and produced a number of philosophical writings characterized by great intellectual capacity and an extremely fine style. He seems to have lived until about A.D. 850³. He left *bhāshyas* on the *Vedānta-sūtras*, the *Gītā* and the chief Upanishads. Besides these, a number of Vedantic writings, mostly in verse, are attributed to him, the chief being the *Upadeśa-sahasrī*, a summary of his doctrine in verse. Until strictly scientific methods of comparison are applied to these works, it will be impossible to say how many are by Śankara. The best scholars usually decide against them all. Numerous Śākta works in prose and verse also bear his name, but there can hardly be a doubt that they are not his offspring. About the *Vedānta-sūtra-bhāshya* fortunately there can be no question.

§ 195. The following is a brief outline of his *advaitavāda*, pure monism. There exists only Brahman, one without a

of the personal name of the writer and of his connexion with Śankara. Certainly the Buddhist evidence cited in favour of the early date of the *Kārikā* does not seem to be cogent. See Barnett, *JRAS* 1910, p. 131 ff.; Jacoby, *JAOS* xxxiii 51, n. 1.

¹ *SUV* 514.

² Thibaut, *SRE*. XXXIV. xx ff.

³ Macdonell, *SL* 402; Keith, *AA*. 11. The date A.D. 805-97, proposed by S. V. Venkatesvara in *JRAS* 1916, 151 ff., is scarcely likely to be right, in view of the date of Vāchaspati's *Bhāmātī*.

second, spiritual, unknowable. The material world is *Māyā*, illusion. The human soul is identical with Brahman. *Ātmanasi*, 'Thou art that.' But this contradicts all experience, and man must live in his experience. Therefore Śāṅkara distinguishes between supreme truth and the truth of experience. Similarly, he recognizes not only God as he truly is under the name para Brahman, the supreme Brahman, but also the same being enwrapped in limitations and attributes as apara Brahman, the lower Brahman, who is the world-soul and a personal God. The whole of our lower knowledge, however, our ideas of the world, all our personal experience and our conception of ourselves as distinct personalities—all this is more truly described as ignorance than as knowledge. Liberation comes when a man rises from ignorance to true knowledge. This comes finally by the grace of God, but a man may prepare himself by study of the Veda and by the discipline of the Vedānta. Even after knowledge is attained, the man continues to live, but at death he receives final release. 'Brahman he is and into Brahman he is resolved.'

It is noteworthy that Śāṅkara holds strongly that, while works may prepare the soul for the discipline of knowledge, they can never help the man to reach release, but necessarily bind him ever more firmly to transmigration. Hence, when a man becomes a *sannyāsī* of the Advaita Vedānta, he gives up sacrifices and the other duties of the ordinary Hindu completely, and seeks knowledge as the only means to release. This renunciation of the regular Hindu life is typified in the act of laying aside the sacred thread, which is part of the ceremony of initiation into the life of the *sannyāsī*.

§ 196 The striking resemblance which certain features of the teaching of Gauḍapāda and Śāṅkara present to Mahāyāna philosophy led Hindu controversialists to assail it as 'covert Buddhism';¹ and some modern scholars have been inclined to say that its illusion and its doctrine of double truth have no foundation in the Upanishads and must have been drawn from

¹ e.g. in the *Padma P.*

the rival faith.¹ This contention is strengthened by the fact that there is no doctrine of illusion in the *Vedānta-sūtras*. But scholarly opinion seems now inclined to conclude that, in the early Upanishads, there is unquestionably, along with other ideas, the basis for a doctrine of pure monism, and that we need go no farther afield than the *Svetāśvatara U.* for the doctrine of *māyā*, but that Gaudapāda and Śaṅkara were probably influenced in some degree by the two philosophical systems of the Mahāyāna.²

§ 197. But there are other characteristics of the Bhāṣhya which are worthy of attention. Most of them have a basis in the sūtras but they are clearly worked out by Śaṅkara. All the main features of orthodox Hinduism are accepted and buttressed with arguments, e.g. the inspiration of the Purāṇas,³ the permanent presence of all the traditional gods, even though each is a transient being,⁴ the visibility of the gods to rishis in ancient time,⁵ the eating of the sacrifice by the gods,⁶ the assumption by a god of many bodies so as to be present at many sacrifices at one moment,⁷ &c. Thus the great philosophy, which began by holding the popular religion in contempt,⁸ has now become its willing servant.

It is clear that by Śaṅkara's day the Upanishads, the *Gīta* and the *Vedānta-sūtras* were recognized as the fundamental scriptures of the Vedānta. At a later date they were called the *Prasthānatraya* or Triple Canon. Although the *Gītā* and the Sūtras are but *smṛiti*, they are regarded with almost as much veneration as the Upanishads, which are *śruti*.

Indian scholars frequently speak of Śaṅkara as one of the greatest of the world's independent philosophic thinkers. The

¹ e.g. Walleser, *DAV* 22 ff., also Dr. Jhā. see Keith, *JRAS* 1916, 279 f.

² Thibaut, *SBE* XXXIV. xci-xcvi, Keith, *SS* 64.

³ Barnett, *JRAS* 1910, 1364; Jacobi, *JAOS* XXXIII. 151 ff.; Poussin, *JRAS* 1910, 129 ff.; Keith, *JRAS* 1916, 380.

⁴ *Bhāṣhya* on I. 3, 33, *SBE* XXXIV. 222-3.

⁵ On I. 3, 28; *Ib* 202-3.

⁶ On III. 1, 7; *SBE* XXXVIII. 110-1.

⁷ On I. 3, 27, *SBE* XXXIV. 199-200.

⁸ On I. 3, 34 *Ib* 222.

⁹ See § 53.

truth seems to be that he never questioned the truth of the basis of the Vedānta, i.e. those writings which were then recognized as revelation of the first grade, *śruti*. Yet within these theological limits Śāṅkara displays consummate philosophical capacity: he is the Thomas Aquinas of Hinduism.

§ 198 He seems to have been a man of organizing capacity as well as a thinker. Tradition avers that he found the ascetic orders of the Vedānta in disorder and regulated them, dividing them into ten groups, placing each under one of his disciples and naming them after these leaders. Certainly, the sannyāsīs of the Vedānta to-day are in ten groups, and are known as Daśnāmīs, i.e. sannyāsīs of ten names, and they unanimously ascribe their constitution and rule to Śāṅkara¹. There are also sannyāsīnīs. A company of them whom I saw at the Khumbh Mela at Allahabad in 1918 belonged to the Giri order. He also founded four monasteries, to form centres of advaita learning and influence, Śringerī in Mysore, Govardhana in Purī, Śārādā² in Dwāikā, and Joshī at Badamīnāth in the Himalayas. All four have survived to our day, and there are a number of subordinate houses. Śringerī, of which he was himself the head, is the chief monastery, and its ruler is the supreme Pontiff of all advaita sannyāsīs.

§ 199 Śāṅkara made many tours through India, and proved a triumphant controversialist, if we may trust the traditions of

¹ The ten names are 1. *Tīrtha*, 2. *Āśrama*, 3. *Sarasvatī*, 4. *Bhāratī*, 5. *Vana*, 6. *Aranya*, 7. *Pūrva*, 8. *Sāgara*, 9. *Giri*, 10. *Purī*. Only the first three are pure, i.e. restricted to twice-born men, or rather to Brahmans, for Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas are negligible. Half of the Bhāratī order is also said to be pure. The other six are open to the four castes, but to no others. One often hears the phrase *Śāṅkara's Dandīs* also: these are the innermost group of all; for only a Brāhman can receive a *danda*, i.e. a bamboo rod; and the ceremonial which attaches to it is so troublesome that many prefer to do without it. Many of the Daśnāmīs have discarded clothing, and are called *Nāgīs* (from *Nag* 'naked'). There were hundreds of them at the Kumbh Mela of 1918.

² The goddess *Sarasvatī* as patroness of the sciences and speech is called *Śārādā*, and has five faces and ten arms: *Kṛṣṇa Sāstrī*, *III*. 187. Tradition runs that to her grace Śāṅkara attributed his powers. To this day the incumbent of Śringerī, whether in the monastery or on tour, publicly worships a large number of idols, *Śārādā* amongst them towering high above the rest. For this reason some scholars say Śāṅkara was a Śākta.

his school, and, certainly, the extraordinary influence which his teaching had in many parts of India in the following centuries forms the best corroboration of the claim. Thus, it is clear that the whole vast body of Smānta householders in the South and in Gujarāt, and many also throughout the North, became his disciples, and recognized him as their religious head. To this day the superior of the monastery in Śringerī, who always bears the honoured name, Śankara, is Pontiff, not only of all advaita sannyāsīs, but of all the Smāntas of the South and the West as well. Hence the immense influence which the Śankara wields, and the wealth which flows into the monastery. This connexion sheds light on Śankara's acceptance and defence of the main positions of orthodox Hinduism in his *Bhāṣya*.

But his teaching produced large results outside the immediate circle of his pledged disciples. The Bhāgavatas¹ in every part of the country, a Ramaite sect,² which can be traced in the literature, and which ought in all probability to be located in the South, and, at the other extremity of India, the Śaivas of Kashmīr,³ all fell under the spell of his philosophy, and taught it, in purity or with modifications, for centuries.

§ 200. There are also widespread traditions⁴ to the effect that he persecuted the Buddhists and the Jains and destroyed their books, and cleansed the worship of a number of disreputable Hindu sects. To one who for the first time reads the *Bhāṣya* these late stories may well seem foolish inventions, nor can any one accept them as they stand; yet his connexions with orthodox householders give a certain plausibility to the statements. He may possibly have originated the Right-hand movement among Śāktas⁵.

¹ See § 210.

² See § 219.

³ See § 230.

⁴ The two *Śaṅkara-vijayas* are clearly far from historical, yet they reflect tradition, portions of which may be in the main true. The work attributed to Mādhava must have been written after that scholar's death, and both seem to have been provoked by the *Maṇḍamāhārī* and the *Madhvavijaya*. Krishnasamy Aiyar, 3; and see § 279.

⁵ See § 317.

There are some Hindu scholars who say that he originated and enforced the Smārita rule of worshipping the five gods,¹ but there is no evidence in support of the assertion.

§ 201. The next outstanding writer on the Vedānta is Vāchaspati Miśra, who occupies a very noticeable position. He tells us himself that he belonged to Tihut and that he lived under a king named Niiga, and in one of his books, the *Nyāyasūchībāndha*, he gives A D 841 as the year in which it was written.² His home and his date are thus known. He was a Smārta Brāhman, and must have been a very capable teacher of philosophy. He left seven books, all expository works, which set forth, in clear and accurate philosophic language, five out of the six orthodox philosophies of Hinduism, the Vaiśeṣika being the only one of the six he did not expound. He is thus a very striking figure. Every scholar before his date is a controversialist, upholding his own school against all comers, and fighting the teaching of every other school. Vāchaspati, on the other hand, knows no bias—he is simply an honest expositor of real philosophic grasp and great power of accurate expression. His books have therefore been greatly admired and widely used as text-books since his day. He wrote a commentary, the *Bhāmātī*, on Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* which has been the most popular and useful of all the innumerable works written to expound that masterpiece, and has been interpreted in turn by many scholiasts.

c. *The Sāṅkhya.*

§ 202. The *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, which, soon after it was written, was honoured by an attack from the great Vasubandhu, was translated into Chinese in the sixth century by a Buddhist monk.³ Probably a little later, a scholar named Gaudapāda (seemingly not the same as Śaṅkara's parama-guru)⁴ wrote the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā-bhāṣya*, which is of con-

¹ See § 207

² Woods, *Yoga*, xxiii.

³ Nanjo 1300. Cf Takakusu, *BEFEO* IV 1

⁴ Jacobi, *JAS.* XXXIII 52, n 2, Keith, *JRAS* 1916, 171, SS 87.

siderable importance in determining the precise meaning of the principles summarized in the stanzas. Then about A.D. 850 Vāchaspati produced his *Sāṅkhya-tattva-kaumudī*, an exposition of the *Kārikā*, which is regarded as one of the most authoritative of Sāṅkhya works, and has been expounded in many super-commentaries.

d. *The Yoga.*

§ 203. There is a similar story to tell of the Yoga. A *Bhāṣya* on the *Yoga-sūtra* was written some time after A.D. 650 by an unknown writer, and Vāchaspati wrote the *Tattva-Vaiśārādī*, also an exposition of the *Sūtra*, about A.D. 850. Woods remarks.¹

The *Bhāṣya* and, still more, the *Tattva-Vaiśārādī* are masterpieces of the philosophical style. They are far from being a loosely collected body of glosses. Their excessively abbreviated and disconnected order of words is intentional.

It is very noticeable that the fresh developments in Yoga theory and practice reflected in the Tantras, Āgamas, and Saṁhitās do not seem to have produced the slightest effect on the ancient school.

e. *The Vaiśeṣika*

§ 204. There is only one Vaiśeṣika writer to be mentioned, Praśastapāda, whose date is in the neighbourhood of A.D. 600, and without whose *Bhāṣya* the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtras* would be almost unintelligible. But another work, the original of which is lost, survives in a translation: in A.D. 648 the pilgrim, Hiouen Tsang, translated the *Daśapadārtha*, said to be by Jñānachandra, into Chinese.

f. *The Nyāya*

§ 205. The preceding chapter has shown that Vātsyāyana's *Bhāṣya*, which lights up the obscurity of the *Nyāya-sūtras*, belongs to the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. To

¹ *Yoga*, ix.

that we now add Uddyotakara's *Nyāya-vārtika*, on the *Bhāṣya*, and Vāchaspati's *Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya-tīkā*, the former from about A. D. 650, the latter from about 840.

On these two closely related schools two significant facts require to be chronicled here. First, with P'rasastapāda, the atomic school becomes frankly theistic, and about the same time both schools become closely connected with the Pāśupata sect.¹ Secondly, the question has been seriously raised, whether the new doctrine of inference called *nyāpti*, which appears in Indian logical treatises at this time, is not due to the influence of the Aristotelian logic.²

The study of logic in early India was greatly enriched by the labours of numerous Buddhist and Jain thinkers. Of all these scholars the most influential by far was the Buddhist Dignāga, who flourished before the middle of the sixth century; but the first Jain logician, Siddhasena Divākara, lived probably a century earlier, and later Jain thinkers did good service.³

B *The Purāṇas*

§ 206. All the Purāṇas, except the *Bhāgavata*, seem to have been in existence by the end of this period, and probably earlier. It is also probable that there was an authoritative list of the eighteen, in which both the *Śiva* and the *Vāyu* would have a place. But, though the eighteen existed then, all were not in the condition in which they are to-day. Numerous sections, khaṇḍas, saṁhitās, and such like have since then been foisted on the original texts, and large portions of the originals have been lost, either through accident or deliberate sectarian malice.

The *Garuda P.* is clearly a manual compiled for the use of Smārita priests, for it contains detailed instructions for the worship of the five gods, and gives information in many other

¹ Keith, *JRAS.* 1914, 1097

² *Ib.* 1096.

³ Vidyābhūṣana, *MSIL.* 22-55, 80

⁴ Chaps. 16, 17, 22-24, 38-40, 42.

subjects which a practising priest would want to have. The *Agni* is also a Smārta document; for it gives detailed instructions about the worship of the five gods,¹ but it may be meant for the use of Bhāgavata priests,² for it gives far more attention to Vishnu than to the other four, it contains a list of Pāñcharātra Saṁhitās,³ which is possible in a Bhāgavata, but not in a purely Smārta work, and it uses the Bhāgavata mantra at several points.⁴ Both Purāṇas show very distinctly the influence of the Śākta teaching given in the Āgamas, Tantras, and Saṁhitās. Of the original character of the *Nārada*, *Varāha*, *Vāmana*, and *Brahmavaivarta* Purāṇas it is hard to speak with certainty, but all seem to have contained Vaiṣṇava material.⁵ The *Śiva*, *Linga*, and *Kūrma* Purāṇas are all Śaiva in general character, and all three⁶ contain copies of certain parts of the Lakulīṣa-Pāśupata material which seems to have appeared first in the *Vāyu*.⁷ Of the *Skanda*⁸ it is not possible to speak with certainty.

C. Smārtas and their Literature

§ 207 At an early date some organizing genius persuaded the Smārtas to make it a regular practice to worship the five gods, *pañcha deva*, Vishnu, Śiva, Durgā, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, in what is called *Pañchāyatana Pūjā*,⁹ but the precise time and the name of the organizer are unknown. Many Smārtas say that it was Śāṅkara who imposed the rule; some say Kumārila, while others say the practice is of still earlier origin. But what is clear from the list itself is that the rule was formed at a time when Brahman had already fallen into the

¹ Chaps. 21, 23, 69; 71; 73, 74

² Bhāgavatas often act as *archakas*

³ Chap. 39

⁴ e. g. in chaps. 27 and 48.

⁵ See the quotations in Madhva's *Brahma-sūtra-bhāṣya*

⁶ *Śiva*, Uttarārdha, IX, ix, *Linga*, VII, *Kūrma*, LII

⁷ See § 165 ⁸ But see H. P. Śāstri, I. iii.

⁹ That is, 'Five-Shrines Worship'. The methods of the worship as practised to-day explain the name. See § 352. For the word see Jacob, *EAU*. 171

background, and the five gods were prominent. The evidence contained in this chapter makes it probable that that was true by the opening of the seventh century; but it is impossible to give anything like a definite date. It is also essential to notice that the five are merely a pañchāyat representing all the gods the orthodox man recognizes the whole pantheon; and, while he worships the five, he may worship as many more as he likes. Towards the end of this period five Upanishads, one on each of the divinities, were put together and called the *Atharvaśiras U*¹. They are doubtless all founded on sectarian Upanishads.

§ 208 It will be at once recognized that Śāṅkara's philosophical position fits the Smānta conception of the pantheon perfectly. From the point of view of religious practice, the only difference between the advaita Vedānta and the Karma Mīmāṃsā lies in the recognition of the Absolute behind all the gods. Thus it is not at all strange that Śāṅkara won over a large number of Smāntas to the acceptance of his system. To this day, in most parts of South India and Gujarāt, the word Smārta implies allegiance to Śāṅkara as well as to the five gods and to Vedic observance.

§ 209 For the twice-born the most interesting literature published during the period would be the law-books and the works on the Mīmāṃsā. The *Nārada* and the *Bṛihaspati* are the chief legal *śruti*s produced at this time, but there were many others. The publication of the great works of Prabhākara and Kumārila on the Karma Mīmāṃsā would be of great interest to all Śrautas and Smārtas. Both these writers, and many other notable scholars of the period, Praśastapāda, Vātsyāyana, Udyotakara, and Vāchaspati Miśra were either Śrautas or Smārtas. The *Garuḍa P*² seems to be a manual written for Smārta priests.

¹ Weber, *HIL.* 170, Kennedy, *HM* 346, &c

² See § 206

D. *Vaiṣṇava Literature.*a. *Bhāgavata Literature.*

§ 210. It seems clear that the Bhāgavatas followed the Smāitas in the two steps we have just dealt with they accepted the worship of the five gods and the advaita Vedānta. Yet it seems as if their acceptance of the five gods had been less serious than their recognition of Śiva as equivalent to Vishnu so much seems to be implied in the practice of the sect to-day. Probably about the end of this period, after the adoption of Śaṅkara's system, some Bhāgavata scholar wrote the *Skanda U.*,¹ to establish the truth of the doctrine of the identity of Vishnu and Śiva. The philosophy is advaita, and the classical passage in the *Harivaṁśa* on the subject is utilized. A *Bhāgavata S.*² is mentioned among the Vaiṣṇava Saṁhitās, which may be a Bhāgavata document.

§ 211. Many Bhāgavatas are temple ministrants in South India to-day, and there is evidence which tends to suggest that in early times still larger numbers performed that service. The *Agni P.* seems to be a manual prepared for the use of Bhāgavata priests, as is suggested above.³ In the Tamil country to-day, while in most temples the ritual is conducted in accordance with the rules laid down in the Pāñcharātra Saṁhitās, there are a few temples in which Vaikhānasa Saṁhitās are used. This is true of the shrine of Venkateśvara on Tirupati hill, and of the temples in Conjeeveram, and Srīperumbudur. What the age of these Saṁhitās may be, is not yet known. They differ from the main group first of all in points of ritual. But there is a far more serious distinction: Appaya Dīkshita tells us that Vaikhānasa manuals are consistent with Vedic usage while Pāñcharātra Saṁhitās are unorthodox.⁴ Now, it is clear that in the temple of Venkatesvara, in which the Vaikhānasa ritual is followed to this day, Śiva and Vishnu were worshipped as equal until Rāmānuja

¹ Jacob, *EAU* 15² No 105 in Schrader's list, *IPAS.* 8.³ § 206⁴ See the passage quoted by Chanda, *JAR.* 100.

interfered¹ Thus we can scarcely be wrong in concluding that the Vaikhānasa Samhitās have for centuries been used by Bhāgavata *archakas*² for the ritual. It also seems clear that there were many more temples in which Viṣṇu and Śiva were adored as equal—i. e. Bhāgavata shrines—during this period than there are to-day; for many such temples are mentioned in the hymns of the Ālvāis³, and we know that Rāmānuja sought to substitute Pāñcharātra for Vaikhānasa ritual wherever he went. What is the relation between these manuals and the Vaikhānasa-sūtras?⁴

b *Pāñcharātra Literature*

§ 212. The rise of the Vaishnava, or Pāñcharātra, Samhitās⁵ is the most notable fact in the Vishnuite history of the period, but it is not yet possible to state with certainty when or where they were written. They can be traced in Kashmir in the tenth century, in the Tamil country in the eleventh,⁶ and at later dates in South Kanara,⁷ but clear references at earlier dates are still lacking. The utmost we can say is that their striking similarity to the Śaiva Āgamas and to the early Tāntrik literature, both Hindu and Buddhist, suggests that the earliest of them arose about the same time as these three literatures, i. e. probably between A. D. 600 and 800, and that there is nothing in the general character of the books that is opposed to such a date. More precise evidence may become available any day.⁸

The Samhitās are supposed to number 108; but about double that number of names are known. Lists occur in four

¹ Govindāchārya, *R.* 142.

² I. e. temple-ministrants

³ Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī, *SH* 12.

⁴ See § 160.

⁵ In this connexion I am much indebted to Dr. Schrader's excellent monograph, *Introduction to the Pāñcharātra and the Akṛbuddhaya Samhitā*, also to Govindāchārya's art *JRAS.* 1911, 935 ff.; and to the relevant section in Iyengar's *Outlines*.

⁶ Schrader, *IPAS* 17 f.

⁷ In Madhva's *Bhāṣya* on the *Vedānta-sūtras*.

⁸ A careful survey of Vaishnava Tamil literature would likely provide some evidence. Śankara's statement about Śāṇḍilya, *Bhāṣya*, II. 11 45, in all probability rests on a Samhitā

Samhitās, three containing over 100 names each, the fourth containing only 34. Taking the three long lists first, 52 names are common; taking all four, only 11 are common. The results are thus rather hazy. Further, these books have suffered from interpolation in precisely the same way as the Purāṇas. Hence, it is not strange that the few scholars who have given some time to their study do not agree in their conclusions as to which are the earliest documents.¹

§ 213. It is probably true that each Samhitā, even in its earliest form, represented some sectarian division or some variety of doctrine or worship. Thus one of the Agastya Samhitās is a Ramaite work; it is probable that the *Narasimha* spring from the special cult of the Narasimha incarnation, which we deal with elsewhere, and the *Dattātreya*, the *Ganeśa*, and the *Saura* may reflect the worship of Dattātreya, Ganeśa, and the Sun. That later developments are reflected in the Samhitā literature is plain. Rāmānuja's stay at Melkote is described in several works, while Mādhva doctrine obtrudes itself distinctly in others. The literature will not be fully intelligible until these sectarian distinctions are realized. Schrader holds that most of the literature was produced in the north, but believes that several of the works belong to the Tamil south, notably *Īśvara*, *Upendra*, and *Bṛihad Brāhma*.² He may be right, but, on the other hand, these may be northern works interpolated in the south.

§ 214. The Samhitās are historically noteworthy in two ways. They mark first the emergence of Śākta principles in the Vaiṣṇava sect. But they are also notable as being the first manuals formed to express both the beliefs and the practice of Vaiṣṇavas. In the matter of practice they are as it were the Kalpasūtras of the Vaiṣṇavas.³ Like the

¹ Schrader (*IPAS*. 20) takes the *Prushkara*, *Vārāha*, and *Brāhma* as the earliest of all, while Iyengar (*Outlines*, 175) regards the *Lakṣmi* as 'decidedly very old', and says that the *Pañcama* is 'perhaps the oldest' of all. With this latter judgement my friend, Mr. A. Govindāchārya Svāmīn of Mysore city, agrees.

² *IPAS* 16 f.

³ Govindāchārya, *JRAS*. 1911, 940.

Saiva Āgamas, the Saṁhitās are said to consist of four sections:

Jñāna-pāda: philosophical theology.

Yoga-pāda the new yoga teaching and practice.

Kṛiyā-pāda: the building of temples and the making of images

Charyā-pāda: religious practice.

Only two Saṁhitās, however, are known which are actually divided in this way, the *Padma* and the *Viṣṇutattva*. Even those which deal with all the four categories are arranged in other ways, and many deal only with Kṛiyā and Charyā. Indeed a very large part of all the material of the Saṁhitās deals with practice. This explains why they were so long kept secret.

§215. The theology of the chief Saṁhitās is essentially a development of the teaching of the Nāīāyaṇīya episode of the Epic with the addition of a considerable Śākta element. The basis of the philosophy is the theistic Yoga. Our brief outline of the teaching is taken from Dr. Schiader's excellent analysis.—In the supreme state Vishnu and his Śakti¹ are one Paramātmā without distinction. It is in creation that they become distinguishable. Primary Creation falls into two stages, and Secondary Creation, which takes place 36,000 times between two Primary Creations, also falls into two.

A. In the first stage of Primary Creation the Śakti awakes as if from sleep in her two aspects, *kṛiyā*, action, and *bhūti*, becoming, and manifests the six *guṇa*, i.e. attributes, of her Lord, viz. knowledge, unrestricted power, energy, strength, virility, splendour. These six together constitute Vāsudeva, the first vyūha², and his śakti Lakshmī. The six fall into pairs, and from them emanate in order Saṁkarshana, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha, the second, third, and fourth vyūhas, and their Śaktis. From the vyūhas proceed twelve

¹ See § 168.

² See § 106.

sub-vyūhas and twelve Vidyēśvaras. In this stage of creation are produced also the vibhavas, or incarnations of Viṣṇu, thirty-nine in number, and Vaikuntha, Highest Heaven, with all its dwellers.

B In the second stage of Primary Creation the bhūti aspect of the Śakti is manifested in the grosser forms, Kūṭastha Puruṣha and Māyā Śakti. The Kūṭastha Puruṣha is the aggregate of individual souls, massed together like bees, while the Māyā is the immaterial source of the universe. From her is produced Niyata, the regulator of all things; from Niyata Kāla, transcendental Time, regarded as a driving force, and from Kāla the Guna-body, whence the three Sankhyān guṇas emanate and coalesce into Mūlaprakṛiti, the impalpable source of material things. All these creations remain in existence from the time they are created until the time of Universal Dissolution, Mahāpralaya.

C. The first stage of each Secondary Creation corresponds very closely with the Sankhyān evolution. Yet there are differences; the Vaiṣṇava system starts not only with the Mūlaprakṛiti and Puruṣha but with Kāla also, and the Puruṣha is the one Kūṭastha Puruṣha instead of an infinite number of souls. The other differences need not detain us.

D The five gross elements, ether, air, light, water, and earth, having been produced, coalesce into a mass, and the world-egg, with the creator god, Brahmā, the fifth vyūha, in it, is produced, or, according to certain Saṁhitās, innumerable world-eggs; and thereafter there come the details of creation.

Souls are of four classes, the liberated, those fit for liberation, the ever-bound, and those fit for darkness. Predestination is thus clearly taught. A soul reaches knowledge and liberation by the grace of the Lord, and he is not merged in him but joins him in Vaikuntha. A few Saṁhitās are so advaitic in tone as to approach the idea of the absolute identity of the soul and God, but the general teaching clearly recognizes the soul as distinct. The soul is atomic in size,

but when liberated is omniscient and in a sense also omnipotent and omnipresent.

The doctrine of the channels and centres of occult force in the human body with its method of Yoga practice and miraculous results, which we describe below¹ as found in the Sākta system, appears in the same form in these Vaishṇava works.² The doctrines of mantra and yantra in the Saṁhitās are indistinguishable from the Śākta teaching described below.³ Magic in all its forms, with innumerable spells and rites and talismans, is carefully described and eagerly commended. The great sectarian mantras, *Oṃ namo Bhāgavate Vāsudevāya* (Bhāgavata), *Oṃ namo Nārāyaṇāya* (Śrī Vaishṇava), and the famous mantra of Narasiṁha are all adored and studied and expounded in a thousand ways. The sect-mark of the Śrī-Vaishṇavas of South India consists of two white curving lines, like the outline of a vase, and a single red vertical line set in the centre and meeting the white lines at the base. The white lines represent Vishnu, the red line his śakti, in accordance with the Sākta doctrine of creation. The Saṁhitās ordain that Vaishṇavas shall not only paint the sect-mark on the brow and elsewhere, but shall also brand the symbols of Vishnu on the body with red-hot irons. The twice-born Vaishṇava is expected to select a guru and receive initiation, *dīkṣā*, from him. Initiation consists of five acts, *Tāpa*, branding the symbols on the body, *Puṇḍra*, painting the sect-mark, *Nāma*, taking a name, *Mantra*, reception of the formula of adoration, *Yāga*, worship.⁴ There is nothing in Vaishṇavism that corresponds with *chakra-pūjā*,⁵ and only vegetarian offerings are allowed in the temples. The strict Vaishṇava uses only vegetarian diet. The Pāñcārātra system is still unorthodox in these manuals,⁶ as we found it to be in the Epic.

The religion of the Saṁhitās is open to all four Hindu

¹ See § 232

² § 232

³ See § 234.

⁴ Schrader, *IPAS.* 118 ff.

⁵ Govindāchārya, *JRAS.* 1911, 946

⁶ Schrader, *IPAS.* 97.

castes without distinction, but not to outcastes. The position of the *Gītā*¹ in this matter is retained.

§ 216. In the Tamil south, alongside of the Pāñcharāṭia manuals, about a dozen Saṁhitās are found, which are called Vaikhānasa. They are discussed above.²

We now deal briefly with the few local groups or sub-sects which can be distinguished at this stage in Vaishnava history.

1. *Tamil Vaishṇavas.*

§ 217. We begin with the Tamil country. From the seventh to the tenth century there seems to have been a succession of poet-singers in Tamil-land who wandered about from shrine to shrine, composing hymns and singing in ecstasy before the images of their loved divinity. Many were Śaivas, and many were Vaishnavas. Of the latter twelve are specially remembered, and honoured under the title of Ālvārs. Their religion was above all a passionate emotion. Their chief joy was to gaze into the divine eyes of a favourite image, and to pour out their praises in music and song. Often, after a long absence, the poet's feeling was too much for him, and he fell unconscious on the temple-floor before the image, stunned by the flood of his emotions, or, during the night, he would fall sick with longing for the beautiful face which he could not see until the temple-doors were opened in the morning. They taught Outcastes, and some of them are said to have been Outcastes. Apart from local legends and epithets suggested by the temples or the forms of the images, their poems show only the influence of the Epics and early Purāṇas. The Saṁhitās were probably late in penetrating to the Tamil south. Yet these men have been regarded as the teachers of the Śrī-Vaishṇava sect. Their hymns have a great and honoured place in the training of scholars and in public worship, and their images are worshipped in the temples. The following is the list of their

¹ § 88

² § 211.

names in the traditional order of their appearance.—1. Poy-gaiar, 2 Bhutattu, 3. Peyar, 4 Tirumalisai, 5. Śāthakopa or Nammālvār, 6. Madhurakavi, 7. Kulaśekhar, 8 Periyai, 9 Andal, 10. Tondaiuppodī, 11 Tiuppanar, 12. Tirumangai. One of these, Andal, was a woman. Tirumangai and Nammālvār are the greatest, and Nammālvār is the most famous of all. There is no certainty yet as to the chronology of the Ālvāis. Barnett¹ suggests that Tirumangai and Nammālvār belong to the eighth century or thereabouts but other dates are proposed by other scholars²

There are two Upanishads which probably belong to this period, and which are both devoted to the Nārāyana-mantia, *Oṃ namo Nārāyanāya*, namely the *Nārāyaṇa* and the *Ātma-bodha* Upanishads.³ The Śrī-Vaiṣṇava sect, which took definite shape among Tamil Vaiṣṇavas during the next period, use this formula as their sect-mantia. Thus the Upanishads are probably connected with the sect.

2. The Narasimha Sect

§218 The date of the *Nṛsiṃha-tāpanīya* Upanishads⁴ makes it plain that the Nṛsiṃha, or Narasimha, sect which worshipped the Man-lion incarnation of Vishnu, must have been organized, at the latest, quite early in this period. This god is recognized all over India, but traces of his worship are far more abundant in the south than the north; and he is still the family god of many families in the south. Yet we must not assume that the sect was founded in the south. The sectarian mantra is an *anushtubh* verse, called the royal mantra, *mantrarāja*, of Nṛsiṃha, and it is accompanied by four ancillary mantras. The chief scripture of the sect is the pair of Upanishads already mentioned. The first, called the

¹ *BMCTB* 7.

² K. Aiyangar, *AI.* 220, 377. S. Aiyangar, *TS* 299

³ Deussen, *SUV.* 747 ff.

⁴ As they were expounded by Gaudapāda about A.D. 750 or rather later, they cannot be dated later than the seventh century. See Deussen, *SUV.* 752 ff.

Nṛsiṃha-pūrva-tāpanīya, is in two parts, the first of which glorifies the royal mantra by mystic identifications and interpretations, and also the four Aṅga mantras, while the second gives directions for the making, by means of the royal mantra of Nṛsiṃha and three other famous Vaiṣṇava mantras, of a diagram, *yantra*, which, worn on the neck, the arm, or in a lock of hair, will prove a potent amulet. The second Upanishad, called the *Nṛsiṃha-uttara-tāpanīya*, also encourages the cult of the royal mantra, but its emphasis falls on the sectarian theology, in which Nṛsiṃha is identified with the supreme Brahman, the Ātman, and the syllable *Om*. Both Upanishads were expounded by Gauḍapāda, and the first at least by Śaṅkara. The use of the famous mantrarāja was not confined to the sect: three chapters are devoted to its exposition in the *Ahimbudhnyā S.*¹ The popularity of the Nṛsiṃha Upanishads led to their being imitated in other sects, the most noteworthy of these copies are the *Rāma*, *Ganapati*, *Gopāla*, and *Tripurā Tāpanīya* Upanishads.² There are two other documents belonging to the sect which in all probability come from this period, the *Nṛsiṃha Upapurāṇa*,³ and the *Nṛsiṃha S.*⁴ The former is mentioned by Alberuni in A.D. 1030,⁵ so that it almost certainly belongs to the period, but there is more doubt about the latter, as the earliest known reference to it is in Vedānta Deśika of the fourteenth century.

3. The Rāma Sect.

§ 219. In a late interpolated passage in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyana*,⁶ Rāma is hailed as the one eternal God, and his devotees are mentioned, but there is no evidence that an organized Ramaite sect existed in those early days. But there need be no doubt about the existence of such a sect in this period. It is implied in the *Rāma-pūrva-tāpanīya*

¹ Chaps 54 to 56. See Schrader, *IPAS*. 143.

² See § 219, § 239, § 280; § 316.

³ Schrader, *IPAS*. 8, 18.

⁴ Eggeling, *SMIO*. 3515.

⁵ Sachau, I. 130.

⁶ VI 119: see § 107.

Upanishad,¹ which sets Rāma forth as an incarnation of Brahman, expounds a royal mantra—*Rām Rāmāya namaḥ*—and describes a mystic diagram which leads to release and other blessings. A secret alphabet is also taught as the vehicle of secret manttras. The *Rāma-uttara-tāpanīya Upanishad*² consists mostly of passages taken from earlier Upanishads, and may belong to a later date. One of the Vaishṇava Saṁhitās, the *Agastya-Sutūkṣhṇa Saṁvāda*,³ is a Ramaite work, and almost certainly belongs to this period, for it is referred to and quoted in the *Adhyātma Rāmāyana*.⁴ Dr. Schrader's assumption that the worship of Rāma is a modern growth, and that a Ramaite Saṁhitā must therefore be a very recent production, is unfounded, for there is plenty of evidence that Rāma has been continuously worshipped from very early times. But until this and other Saṁhitās bearing Ramaite names⁵ are carefully examined, the question of their date must remain in doubt.

§ 220. We may also reasonably ask whether there was not a Dattātreya sect. This seems to be implied by what is contained in the *Yādava-giri Māhātmya* in the *Nārada* and *Matsya* Purāṇas, by various references elsewhere to Dattātreya, and by what the Manbhaus say.

E. Śaiva Literature.

§ 221. It is not yet possible to say definitely how many Śaiva sects used or produced Āgamas. One is inclined to suggest, very tentatively, a division of mediæval Śaivas into two groups as under :—

- | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|
| a. Pāśupata Śaivas | { | 1. Pāśupatas.
2. Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas.
3. Kāpālikas.
4. Nāthas.
5. Gorakshanāthīs
6. Raseśvaras. |
|--------------------|---|---|

¹ Deussen, *SUV* 802

² *ib* 818.

³ Schrader, *JPAS.* 6, 19

⁴ See § 294

⁵ Schrader, *JPAS* nos 26, 101, 133 in list, pp. 6 to 9

- b. Āgamic Śaivas {
- 1 Sanskrit School of Śaiva Siddhānta
 2. Tamil Śaivas
 - 3 Kashmir Śaivas.
 - 4 Vīra Śaivas

It is clear that the second group were closely allied, and that they accepted the Āgamas. The Tamil and Vīra Śaivas call themselves Maheśvaras to-day and do not call themselves Pāśupatas, although their theology depends on the Pāśupata doctrine of the Epic. Their writers reject the doctrine of the incarnations of Siva as taught by the Pāśupatas, and tell, instead, stories of his having appeared in numerous theophanies. The first group were also closely connected in several ways, and they do not seem to have recognized the Āgamas, but as only weak remnants of them have survived until our days it is difficult to get clear information. We now deal with the sects as far as we can trace them.

a. *Pāśupata Śaivas.*

§ 222 There is first the parent sect of Pāśupatas. Pīśas-tapāda, the early commentator on the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra*, was a Śaiva, and almost certainly a Pāśupata, and Bharadvāja, i. e. Uddyotakara, the author of the gloss on the *Nyāya-bhāṣya*, is definitely called Pāśupatāchārya. Bāṇā and Hiouen Tsang both refer to the Pāśupatas as one of the prominent sects of the time. Śaṅkara criticizes them in his *Bhāṣya*, on the ground that their doctrine of God as the operative but not the material cause of the world stands in opposition to Upaniṣad doctrine.

1. *The Lakulīśas*

§ 223. The Lakulīśa system, which seems to be a specialized form of the Pāśupata,¹ arose in Gujaraṭ, as we have seen, at a very early date, and probably developed a philosophical literature before the opening of the seventh century. Consequently they did not accept the new teaching of the Śaiva

¹ Bhandarkar believes there is but the one system, called indifferently Pāśupata, Lakulīśa, or Lakulīśa-Pāśupata.

Āgamas. During this period the sect spread as far south as Mysore and also into Rajputana. The lists of the incarnations of Śiva, which are copied in the *Līṅga* and *Kīrma* Purāṇas from the *Vāyu*, and which mention Lakulī, are Lakulīśa documents¹. There is an image of Lakulīśa, which belongs to the seventh century, at Jharapatan in Gujarāt.

2 *The Kāpālikas*

§ 224. The Kāpālikas, i.e. the skull-men, are another specialization of the Pāśupatas, but it is hard to say whether they were ever a sect. The evidence suggests that they have never been more than an order of ascetics. In doctrine and practice they stand in the closest possible relation to the Left-hand Śāktas. They seem to have been organized about the very beginning of this period. An inscription,² dating from the first half of the seventh century, mentions the god Kapāleśvara and his ascetics. In the *Mālatī-Mādhava*, a drama produced early in the eighth century,³ one of the chief characters is Aghoraghanta, a Kāpālika ascetic, who acts as priest of the goddess Chāmundā in a royal city, and is connected with the great Śaiva shrine, Śrī-Śaila, in the Telugu country. Kapāla-Kuṇḍalā, i.e. Skull-caring, is a nun, a devotee of the goddess, and a pupil of Aghoraghanta. Both practise yoga, and through it have won miraculous powers. The beliefs they hold are full of Śākta ideas, and amongst their practices is human sacrifice. Aghoraghanta plots to sacrifice the heroine of the play to Chāmundā, but is finally killed by the hero. The nun wears a necklace of skulls, and carries a heavy rod from which hangs a string of bells.

3. *The Nāthas.*

The Nāthas are extremely hard to get hold of. The Gorakshanāthīs, a special sect derived from them, are Śaivas, while modern Nāthas, e.g. Bhāskara-rāya of Tanjore, are Śāktas.

¹ See § 227.

² Bhandarkar, *VS.* 118.

³ *ERE.* IV. 886, V A. Smith, *EIII* 3, 378.

b. *Āgamic Śaivas*.

§ 225 The rise of the Āgamas is the chief literary event in the history of Śaivism during this period. According to tradition there are twenty-eight of these manuals, divided as under¹:—

- i. Śaivic Kāmika, Yogaja, Chintya, Karana, Ajita, Dīpta, Sūkshma, Sahasra, Amsumān, Suprabha (Suprabheda)
- ii. Raudric · Vijaya, Nīśvāsa, Svāyambhuva, Āgneyaka, Bhadra, Raurava, Makuta, Vimala, Chandrahāsa (Chandrajñāna), Mukhayugbimba (Mukhabimba), Udgītā (Prodgītā), Lalīta, Siddha, Santāna, Nārasimha (Saivokta or Sarvottara), Paramēśvara, Kūana, Para (Vātula)

Each of these Āgamas is then attended by a group of Upāgamas, the total number contained in the list amounting to 198.

The date of the earliest of these manuals is still obscure. The Tamil poets, Tirumūlar, who lived somewhere about A.D. 800, Sundarar, who was either a contemporary of Tirumūlar or came a little later, and Mānikka Vāchakar, whose date is not far removed from A.D. 900, all refer to the Āgamas, and both Tirumūlar and Mānikka use much of their phraseology.² Mr. J. C. Chatterji tells us³ that the *Śiva-sūtras* were promulgated in Kashmir by Vasugupta about A.D. 850 with the express purpose of substituting an advaita philosophy for the more or less dualistic teaching of the Āgamas, which were then the foundation of the Śaivism of Kashmir. This statement is supported by references to two Āgamas, the

¹ Ramanā's Tr. of Appayadīkshita's Gloss on Śrīkaṇṭha's *Śarva-bhāṣya*.

² I owe this valuable information about Tirumūlar and Sundarar to my friend, the Rev. Francis Kingsbury of Bangalore. For these poets see § 229.

³ *KS* 7-10, 36 (a)

Mataṅga¹ and the Svāyambhuva, in Somānanda of Kashmir,² who flourished towards the end of the ninth century, and by numerous quotations in Kṣheṇarāja,³ another Kashmir writer belonging to the eleventh century. The earliest known MS, a copy of the *Kirāṇa*, is dated A. D. 924.⁴ From these facts we may conjecture that the earliest Āgamas, like the Hindu and Buddhist Tantras, are to be assigned to the seventh and eighth centuries, yet, until more definite evidence becomes available, we must not say more. No scholar has as yet ventured an opinion as to which of the Āgamas are oldest.

§ 226 The Āgamas mark the appearance of Sākta ideas among Śaivas, and are also the earliest of their codes of temple-building, image-making, and religious practice. Their contents are supposed to fall into four divisions, like the Saṁhitās. The following sketch of the teaching of the Āgamas is drawn from Iyengar's account,⁵ which is based on the *Mingendra Ā.*, the first, or knowledge, section of the *Kāṇḍikā*, the first Āgama. The whole system is condensed in the first verse of the work: 'Śiva is beginningless, free from defects, the all-knower. He removes from the infinitesimal soul the web of bonds that obscure its nature.' He can create both gradually and suddenly, because creation is of that double character, and he possesses an eternal instrument for the work, the Śakti, who is a conscious being and at the same time the Lord's body. His body is all energy (śakti), it is composed of the five mantras. Being so utterly different from our body, no evils or obstructions can attach themselves to it. Consciousness exists in the ātman at all times and on all sides, perfect in Śiva and in the liberated, but not manifest in the unliberated, because in them obscured.

Śiva-śakti is a category intermediate between Śiva, who is pure consciousness, and Matter, which is unconscious. She is the cause of the bondage of all beings and also of their release.

¹ This is one of the Upāgamas, and is dependent on the *Parama-svara Ā.*

² K.S. 10.

³ H. P. Śāstrī, II xxiiv

⁴ Hall, pp 197-8.

⁵ *Outlines*, 151 ff.

She is the eternal Word, the subtle link between concept and utterance. To this is attached the whole doctrine of mantras.¹ The theory of the existence of a system of yogic nerves and circles in the body² is taught.

Śiva is Paśupati, Lord of flocks. Hence man is called Paśu, the Lord's creature.³ His body is unconscious, he himself is conscious. The Paśu is, in his own nature, the abode of eternal and omnipresent Chitsakti, mind-energy. But the Paśu is bound by Pāśa, the bond, and it is threefold, *Ānava*, Ignorance, *Karma*, the result of his action, *Māyā*, the material cause of the world. This last bond, *Māyā*, does not bear the meaning that it does in Śaṅkara's system. It stands for the beclouding, deceiving, materializing influence of the visible world. Fettered by these bonds, the paśu is a finite, restricted being, bounded by his body. The Śakti is included in these bonds, and through them the Lord's work of obscuration of souls is carried out. The Śakti evolves also into Anugraha, the grace of the Lord, and by the gradual destruction of the bonds leads the soul to liberation. 'It is revealed that *Identity with Śiva* results, when all fetters are removed.'

But while this may stand as an approximation to the teaching of the earliest Āgamas, it is of importance to recognize that they are not a uniform body. Several sects are represented in them, and until these differences are clearly recognized we shall have no accurate conception of Āgamic teaching.

§ 227 The *Līṅga* and *Kūrma Purāṇas* are Śaiva documents comparable with the Vaiṣṇava *Agni* and *Garuda* in general character. It is also probable that, like them, they come from the middle of the period, for they reflect the teaching of the Āgamas and the Tantras and refer to some of these texts. Both Purāṇas⁴ repeat with alterations and

¹ See the account of mantras drawn from the *Kṛmāgama* in H. P. Sāstrī, II. xxvi. ² See § 23. ³ But see § 109.

⁴ *Līṅga*, XXIV. 124-33, *Kūrma*, I. lxx. These texts are quoted by Rāmāṇa in his *Tī* of Appaya Dikshita on the *Śaiva Bhāṣya*, pp. 13-14. He quotes all the texts, except the original one in the *Vāyu*.

additions the account of the twenty-eight incarnations of Śiva and their disciples from the *Īāyā*.¹ In the *Līṅga* there is a long dissertation on the mystic meaning of the word *Om* and of the letters of the alphabet,² in the manner of Śākta treatises,³ while in the *Kīrma*⁴ a number of the Śākta Tantras are referred to, and the worship of the Śaktis is recommended. It is not yet known which Śaiva sects these documents come from, except that the list of incarnations is Lakulīśa.

§ 228. The smearing of the body with ashes was part of the practice of Pāśupata ascetics from the time of the *Atharvaśūtras U*.⁵ at least; and the sect-mark is now universally made with ashes. In all the sects, these marks seem to date from the first part of this period, when the new manuals taught the power of magic diagrams. The Śaiva sect-mark, the Tripundria, as it is called, consists of three lines of ash drawn by the fingers horizontally across the brow, and often also on the breast, arms, and other parts of the body as well. It is thus probable that the *Kālāgninidra U*,⁶ which is a mystic meditation on the Tripundria, comes from the first half of our period.

1. Tamil Śaivas.

§ 229. In the Tamil country the most noteworthy Śaiva personalities during these centuries are poets. There are first of all three who are in every way parallel to the Vaiṣṇava Āḷvārs, but they are not distinguished by any title. They are called Nayanars, like other religious leaders, but if they are spoken of as a distinct group, they are simply called *The Three*. Their names are Nānasambandhar, Appar, and Sundarā mūrti. The two former belong to the seventh, the last to the eighth or ninth century. Like the Āḷvārs, they were poet-singers, filled with overflowing bhakti towards Śiva. They wandered from temple to temple, singing their hymns and

¹ See § 165.

² See § 232.

³ See § 112.

⁴ Muir, *OST*. IV 329.

⁵ Chap. XII.

⁶ Deussen, *SUV* 735.